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THE NATIONAL ERA. WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 24, 1849.

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS - FIRST SESSION.

Tuesday, December 18, 1849. SENATE.

The Journal of the preceding day having been read, Mr. Mangum moved that the Senate now proceed to elect the Chairmen of the Standing Committees. The motion having been adopted, Mr. Mangum stated that, by a convenient arrangement made four years ago, it was agreed that a majority of each Standing Committee should be of the same political complexion as a majority of the Senate. He would therefore move that the Senate proceed to the election of majority of the Senate. He would therefore move that the Senate proceed to the election of the Chairmen of the Standing Committees, with Johnson, Jones, Littlefield, McLanahan, McWillie, Peaslee, Sawtelle, Stetson, and Walden.

For David T. Disney.—Messrs. Buel, Fitch, side of the Chamber, and he had been requested to move their appointment.

Mr. Hale opposed this arrangement. For one, he had not been consulted in regard to it. He was entirely ignorant of the basis on which the committees were to be formed. He could not consent to any arrangement that classified the members of the Senate into two great parties, without recognising any other distinctions of political faith than those which attach to them. He acknowledged no allegiance to either of those parties-and he was assured that he had at least one political associate on that floor.

Mr. Mangum then moved that the Senate proceed now to elect by ballot. Mr. Clay desired that his name might not be

placed on the list of any Committees. Mr. Mangum proposed severally the following

nominations for Chairmen: Mr. King of Alabama, on Foreign Relations. Mr. Dickinson of New York, on Finance.

Mr. Hamlin of Maine, on Commerce. These gentlemen were separately balloted for, the first receiving 47 out of 51 votes, the second 44 out of 48, the third 39 out of 43.

Mr. Mangum again proposed that by unanimous consent the Senate should elect the residue of the Chairmen collectively.

Mr. Hale said he did not wish to delay action, but he was entirely uninformed as to the manner in which the proposed appointees had been agreed upon. He thought it advisable to postpone further proceedings till to-morrow.

Mr. Dickinson remarked that if the Senator had waited a moment, he would have heard the pointments, and then he could have judged Mr. Hale said (somewhat ironically) that if he

were only assured that all the rest of the nominations were made with as much discretion as that for Chairman of the Committee on Finance, he would be perfectly satisfied. Mr. Berrien, Mr. Mason of Virginia, and Mr.

Mangum, undertook to show that the election of Chairmen of the Committees was not required to be by ballot, or separately. The rule was read, and is as follows: "In the appointment of the Standing Commit

tees, the Senate will proceed by ballot, severally, to appoint the Chairman of each Committee, and then by one ballot the other members necessary to complete the same

The Chair ruled that a motion to elect the residue of the Chairmen without ballot, could only be entertained by unanimous consent. Mr Hale meanwhile having left the Chamber, Mr. Chase renewed the objection, so that it became necessary to resume the balloting for the Chair-

Mr. Sebastian of Arkansas, nominated for Chairman of the Committee on Manufactures received 38 out of 43 votes; Mr. Sturgeon, 35 out of 37, as candidate for Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture : Mr. Davis of Mississippi. 32 out of 37, as Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs; Mr. Houston, 32 out of 37, as Chairman of the Committee on the Militia; Mr. Yulee, 32 out of 37, as Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs: Mr. Felch, 39 out of 40, as Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands; Mr. Downs, 39 out of 40, as Chairman of the Committee on Private Land Claims; Mr. Atchison, 40 out of 41, as Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs; Mr. Norris, 32 out of 34, as Chairman of the Committee on Claims; Mr. Walker, 31 out of 36, as Chairman of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims; Mr. Butler, 30 out of 34, as Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary; Mr. Rusk, 33 votes, as Chairman of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads; Mr. King of Alabama, 26 out of 31 votes as Chairman of the Committee on Pensions; Mr. Douglas, 33 out of 40 votes, as Chairman of the nittee on Territories.

Mr. Mangum then proposed the following Senators as Chairmen of the several Committee hereinafter named, and their election was duly confirmed by the Senate, objection having been withdrawn:

Mr. Hunter of Virginia, Chairman of the Committee on the Public Buildings. Mr. Turney of Tennessee, Chairman of the

Committee on Patents and the Patent Office. Mr. Bradbury of Vermont, Chairman of the

Mr. Pearce of Maryland, Chairman of th Committee on the Library. Mr. Rusk of Texas, Chairman of the Commi

tee on Enrolled Bills. Mr. Jones of Iowa, Chairman of the Committee on Engrossed Bills.

Mr. Borland of Arkansas, Chairman of the Committee on Printing. Mr. Foote then gave notice that he would tomorrow move to go into the election of Chaplain

[A voice: The usual mode is to let the proposition come from the other House. I object.]

Mr. Foote could see no rational objection the proposition; the Senate, he thought, might at least proceed to the election of its own Chaplain. In fact, he felt conscientious scruples about proceeding any further without the aid of that func-On motion of Mr. Badger, the Senate then ad-

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. The Journal having been read— Mr. Kaufman offered the following resolution

Resolved, That on to-morrow, if no membe have a majority of all the votes cast for Speaker, on the first vote, then, upon the second vote tomorrow, if any member shall receive only one less than a majority of the whole number of votes, he shall be declared elected; but if no member be elected Speaker on said second vote, then, upon the third next vote, if any member shall receive only two less than a majority, he shall be declared elected; and so on, requiring one vote less to elect for every ballot taken until a choice of Speaker is made.

Post Office and Post Roads.—Messrs. Rusk, Bright, Upham, Soule, and Morton.

Territories.—Messrs. Douglas, Butler, Underwood, Houston, and Cooper.

Public Buildings.—Messrs. Hunter, Davis of Miss., and Clarke.

Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.—Messrs. Dodge of lowa, Walker, and Baldwin.

Roads and Canals.—Messrs. Bright, Atchison, Greene, Foote, and Spruance.

After considerable discussion, the resolution was laid upon the table.

The House then proceeded to vote four time for Speaker. On the 55th vote, Mr. Winthrop received 97 votes-Cabell and Winthrop voting for Hilliard, Campbell and Howe for Thaddens Stevens, Clingman for David Outlaw, Messrs. Hilliard, Morton, Owen, Stephens, and Toombs, for C. S. Morehead. The other votes cast were

as follows:

For Linn Boyd.—Messrs. Ashe, Averett, Bayly, Bocock, Bowdon, Burt, George A. Caldwell, H. Cobb, W. R. W. Cobb, Colcock, Daniel, Edmundson, Ewing, Featherston, Hackett, Haralsan, Harmanson, S. W. Harris, Holliday, Holmes, Howard, Inge, R. W. Johnson, Kaufman, La Sere, Mason, McClernand, McDowell, McQueen, Meade, Millson, Morse, Orr, Powell, Richardson, Robbins, Ross, Saddon, F. P. Stanton, R. H. Stanton, Thomas, Jacob Thompson, Venable, Wallace, Welborn, Wildrick, and Woodward.

For John A. McClernand.—Messrs. Albertson. For John A. McClernand.—Messrs. Albertson Bay, Beale, Bissell, Bowlin, A. G. Brown, W. J

Sweetzer, and Wood.

For John L. Robinson.—Messrs. Disney and

otter.
For James X. McLanahan.—Mr. Strong.

No choice having been effected— On motion of Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, the House adjourned until to-morrow at 12 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1849.

Mr. Walker moved that the Rev. Theobald Mathew be allowed a seat within the bar of the United States Senate during his sojourn in Washington. Objection was made by Judge Berrien, of Georgia, and the resolution went over one day. [The reason of Judge Berrien's opposition was

on the Judiciary, the Territories, and the District of Columbia. He would therefore proceed to move the appointment of the members of the

Mr. Seward asked to be excused from serving on any committees. After a few days he conceived he would be prepared to attend to any duty that might be imposed upon him. "I will remark, however," said Mr. S., "that I cordially concur with the nominations that have been made for the committees, and I cheerfully give my assent to the resolution about to be proposed by the Senator from North Carolina,"

The committees were then severally elected, on motion of Mr. Mangum, except the three follow-Senator from North Carolina read the list of aping, which were balloted for, as follows, on the requirement of Messrs. Hale and Chase:

Mr. Mangum. I now move that the Senate pro-ceed to ballot for members of the Committee on the Judiciary; which motion was agreed to. Mr. Mangum. I am instructed to name Messrs.
Downs, Berrien, Bradbury, and Dayton, as mem-The Vice President Senators will please t

The ballots having been counted, there appear

For Mr. Downs, of Louisiana For Mr. Bradbury, of Connecticut For Mr. Dayton, of New Jersey -For Mr. Berrien, of Georgia For Mr. Chase, of Ohio For Mr. Cooper, of Pennsylvania -For Mr. Davis, of Massachusetts -For Mr. Shields, of Illinois For Mr. Seward, of New York Mesors Downs Berrien, Bradbury, and Day

duly elected members of the Commit on the Judiciary.

Mr. Mangum then said he was instructed to name as members of the Committee on Territories Mesers. Butler, Underwood, Houston, and

The Senate proceeded to ballot, when there ap For Mr. Houston, of Texas -For Mr. Underwood, of Kentucky For Mr. Cooper, of Pennsylvania -For Mr Butler, of South Carolina For Mr. Chase, of Ohio
For Mr. Turney, of Tennessee
For Mr. Baldwin, of Connecticut
For Mr. Dodge, of Wisconsin For Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire For Mr. Upham, of Vermont For Mr. Badger, of North Carolina For Mr. Dawson, of Georgia
For Mr. Dickinson, of New York

For Mr. Cass, of Michigan -Messrs. Butler, Underwood, Houston, and coper, were declared duly elected members of nmittee on Territories Mr. Mangum then moved that the Senate pr eed to ballot for members of the Committee o the District of Columbia; which motion havin

been agreed to—
Mr. M. said he would name, in accordance with the general understanding, Messrs. Yulee, Miller, Shields, and Berrien.

The Senate then proceeded to ballot, when ther peared— For Mr. Shields, of Illinois For Mr. Berrien, of Georgia For Mr. Miller, of New Jersey For Mr. Yulee, of Florida For Mr. Corwin, of Ohio For Mr. Hamlin, of Maine For Mr. Norris, of New Hampshire For Mr. Congress of Ohio
For Mr. Cooper, of Pennsylvania
For Mr. Dodge, of Iowa
For Mr. Downs, of Louisiana
For Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire

Messrs. Yulee, Miller, Shields, and Berrie were declared duly elected members of the Con tee on the District of Columbia The following is a complete list of the Standir

ommittees of the Senate : Foreign Relations - Messrs. King, Foote. er, Benton, and Mangum.
Finance — Messrs. Dickinson, Hunter, Phelps Douglas, and Pearce. Commerce.—Messrs. Hamlin, Soule, Davis of Mass., Dodge of Wis., and Bell. Manufactures. — Messrs. Sebastian, Clarke, Jones, and Upham. Agriculture.-Messrs, Sturgeon, Turney, Spr.

Agriculture.—Messrs. Sturgeon, Turney, Spru-ance, Walker, and Corwin.

Military Affairs.—Messrs. Davis of Miss., Bor-land, Greene, Shields, and Dawson.

The Militia.—Messrs. Houston, Dodge of Wis. Morton, Clemens, and Spruance.

Naval Affairs.—Messrs. Yulce, Mason, Badger.

Bright, and Miller. Public Lands .- Messrs. Felch, Borland, Unde

wood, Shields, and Smith.

Private Land Claims.—Messrs. Downs, White

Private Land Claims.—Messrs. Downs, Whitcomb, Davis of Mass, Clemens, and Badger.
Indian Affairs.—Messrs. Atchison, Sebastian, Bell, Rusk, and Wales.
Claims.—Messrs. Norris, Whitcomb, Underwood, Stewart, and Baldwin.
Revolutionary Claims.—Messrs. Walker, Norris, Upham, Dodge of lows, and Cooper.
The Judiciary.—Messrs. Eutler, Downs, Berrien, Bradbury, and Dayton.
Post Office and Post Roads.—Messrs. Rusk, Bright, Upham, Soule, and Morton.

Pensions - Messrs. King, Jones, Phelps, Stew-

art, and Dayton.

The District of Columbia.—Messrs. Mason, Yulee, Miller, Shields, and Berrien.

Patents and the Patent Office.—Messrs. Turney, Norris, Wales, Whitcomb, and Dawson.

Retrenchment.—Messrs. Bradbury, Houston, Mangum, Felch, and Clarke.

The Library.—Messrs. Pearce, Mason, and Davis of Miss Enrolled Bills - Mesers. Rusk and Badger.

Engrossed Bills .- Messrs. Jones, Corwin, and Printing .- Messrs. Borland, Hamlin, and Smith. The Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Mr. Julian, of Indiana, appeared and took his Mr. Baker, of Illinois, moved that the Rev.

the floor of the House. The resolution was adopted, Mr. Burt, of South Carolina, and a few Southern members, voting against it.

Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee, moved that, while the House was in an unorganized state, the clergy of the several denominations be invited to attend and open its services "with sincere prayer to the Giver of ail Good for a speedy and satisfactory organization and dispatch of the public busi-

Mr. Houston, of Delaware, moved to amend by striking out the words, "mith sincere prayer," &c. Mr. Cobb, of Alabama, moved to amend by inserting, the clergy "to pray for us continually."

The resolution was then laid upon the table. Several resolutions were offered, with a view to reopen debate on the subject of electing a Speaker, but they were laid upon the table. The roll was then called three successive times

but no choice of a Speaker was effected. On the last or 58th trial the vote stood-Robert C. Winthrop, of Mass., received
John A. McClernand, of Illinois Linn Boyd, of Kentucky William Strong, of Pennsylvania Howell Cobb, of Georgia George W. Julian, of Indiana James McDowell, of Virginia Lines G. King of New Levery James G. King, of New Jersey -Charles S. Morehead, of Kentucky Christopher H. Williams, of Tenness Christopher H. Williams, of Tennes doubtless the same as induced Mr. Tompkins, of Georgia, to withdraw the invitation tendered to "Father Mathew" to visit the Temperance men of that State.]

Mr. Mangum said he was informed that balloting would be required only for the Committees on the Judiciary, the Territories, and the Dis-Charles M. Congad. of Louisiana - Charles M. Congad. of Louisiana - Charles M. Congad. of Louisiana - Charles M. Congad. of Louisiana Charles M. Conrad, of Louisiana William H. Bissell, of Illinois

Edward W. McGaughey, of Indiana Humphrey Marshall, of Kentucky [No choice.] All the Whig members voted for Mr. Win-

throp, with the following exceptions: For Williams of Tennessee, Ashmun and J. P. Caldwell: for Wilson of New Hampshire, Ba ker ; for Hilliard, Cabell ; for Thaddeus Stevens, Campbell and Howe; for A. H. Stephens, Clingman ; for James G. King, Duer, Reynolds, Rumsey, and Thurman; for Cabell, Hilliard; for Morehead, Morton, Owen, Stephens, and Toombe; for Courad, Outlaw; for McGaughey, Wilson; for Marshall, Winthrop.

For John A. McClernand.—Messrs. Albertson, Ashe, Bay, Bayly, Beale, Bissell, Bowlin, Albert G. Brown, William J. Brown, Buel, Cable, Howell Cobb, Disney, Dunham, Ewing, Fitch, Gilmore, Gorman, Green, Hall, Hamilton, T. L. Harris, Hoagland, Kaufman, Lefller, J. & Mann, Mason, McDowell, McLanahan, Robert M. McLanahan, Robert Lane, McMullen, McWillie, Miller, Olds, Par-ker, Phelps, Potter, Robbins, Robinson, Savage, Sweetzer, Jacob Thompson, James Thompson, Willam Thompson, Whitlesey, and Young.

For Linn Boyd.—Messrs. Bocock, Bowdon, Burt, George A. Caldwell, Colcock, Daniel, Featherston,

Hackett, Haralson, Harmanson, I. G. Harris, S. W. Harris, Holliday, Holmes, Howard, Robert W. Johnson, La Sere, McQueen, Meade, Millson, Morse, Orr, Powell, Ross, Seddon, F. P. Stanton, R. H. Stanton, Thomas, Venable, Wallace, Welborn, and Woodward. For George W. Julian .- Messrs. Allen, Crowell, Giddings, Preston King, and Tuck.

For Howell Cobb.—Messrs. Averett, Boyd, Fui-

ler, Gerry, Hammond, Andrew Johnson, Jones, Littlefield, Sawtelle, and Stetson. For William Strong.—Messrs. Bingham, Booth, Carter, Cleveland, Dimmick, Doty, Durkee, Har-

lan, Morris, Root, Walden, Waldo, Wentworth, Wildrick, Wilmot, Wood, and Peck.

For James McDowell.—Messrs. W. R. W. Cobb. For James McDonell.—Messrs. W. R. W. Edmundson, Hibbard, Peaslee, and Strong. For Emile La Sere.—Mr. Inge. For David Wilmot.—Mr. Julian. For John K. Miller.—Mr. McClernand.

For William H. Bissell .- Mr. Richardson Mr. Woodward of South Carolina offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That Linn Boyd, the senior member Resolved, That Linn Boyd, the senior member of the House, be and he is hereby chosen Speaker protempore; and that, upon his assuming the chair, the House will proceed to the election of Clerk, Sergeant-at-Arms, Doorkeeper, and Postmaster; and upon the election of those officers the House will proceed to vote for a permanent Speaker, and will continue so to vote from day to the restrict a regression speaker shall be elected. day until a permanent Speaker shall be elected; and in the mean time the said temporary Speaker shall not appoint any committee on behalf of the House, nor shall the House itself elect any, or entertain any petition, bill, or proposition what-ever, looking to legislation, until such permanent Speaker shall have been duly elected.

On motion of Mr. Hampton, this resolution wa laid upon the table, the yeas and nays having first been ordered. On the motion to lay on the table, the vote stood, yeas 116, nays 103-the Democrats generally voting, nay, the Whigs and Free Soil men, yea.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER, 20, 1849. SENATE.

The following resolution, submitted by

Walker, of Wisconsin, was taken up:

" Resolved, That the Rev. Theobald Mathew ! permitted to sit within the bar of the Senate dur-ing the period of his sojourn in Washington."

Mr. Clemens of Alabama had objected to the resolution yesterday, and objected to it to-day. ecause the name of Father Mathew was signed to an address issued by O'Connell to the Irishmen in America, calling upon them to take part against the slaveholders; and, although written to by slaveholders since his advent in this country, he had refused to retract the opinions then

Mr. Clay regretted that the question of slavery should be introduced on all possible occasions, as unwise and injurious to the stability of the institution which, he had no doubt, the Senator from Alabama desired to uphold. He spoke in complimentary terms of Father Mathew, and thought the resolution due to him for his great services to the cause of Humanity, and as an Irish patriot Mr. Seward followed in a few pertinent obser-

vations, closing with an allusion to the subject of slavery, as follows:

to the existence of slavery, but who is celebrated for his devotion to virtue and the rights of man.

Mr. Davis of Mississippi was glad that the Senator from New York had made this avowal.

Now, as a representative of slaveholders on that slaven ally of O'Connell. He wished it to be distinctly understood that he yielded all homage to the services of Father Mathew in Ireland, and to every Irishman not allied with O'Connell and abolitionism he felt all that he did for a brother; but, as to O'Connell and his band, and all the horde of abolitionists, foreign and domestic, if he is to the existence of slavery, but who is celebrated for the lower in the lower of the South—separate her from her friends and relations—allow no one to visit her without a written yeas from an overseer, and all the while thank God that you are free of African slavery. Nay, more: you assume to be of a better, on all occasions, that while the pistol and the bowie knife give law: of moral and religious precepts. Sir, I admit with regret that there are occasional seenes of violence among us, and that sometimes we foreget the value of human life; but our offences have always a touch of maniliness in there are no petty which land been nent to the Democratic caucus, proposition had been sent to the Democratic caucus, proposing to apportion the offices of the House, without a written caucus, proposing to apportion the offices of the House, without a written caucus, proposing to apportion the offices of the House, without a written caucus, proposing to apportion the offices of the House, without a written caucus, proposing to apportion the offices of the House, without a written caucus, proposing to apportion the offices of the House, without a written caucus, proposing to apportion the offices of the House, without a written caucus, proposing to apportion the offices of the House, without a written caucus, proposing to apportion the offices of the House, without a written caucus, proposing to apportion the offices from the rivisitant with the wile

chamber, he would not hesitate a moment to do it. Mr. Walker of Wisconsin made a few remarks, stating that he had introduced the resolution

Mr. Hale. I shall vote for this resolution; but Mr. Hale. I shall vote for this resolution; but I desire to say, that if the vote I shall give were to be governed by the reputation which Father Mathew bears as an anti-slavery man, I should be constrained to vote again. If it were to be voted for upon the ground a compliment to Father Mathew, upon his merits as an anti-slavery man, I should be compelled to vote against its adoption and I response to the contract of the contr adoption; and I rise now merely for the purpose of stating this, that it may not be supposed that I

am desirous of extending this courtesy to him up-on any such considerations; and, if the distin-guished Senator from Kentucky will allow me, I will correct an error into which he has fallen.

Mr. Clay. Certainly, I am always happy to be set right.
Mr. Hale. I believe that Father Mathew has not gone so far as to say that he has changed any opinion that he has heretofore expressed in regard

to the subject of slavery.

Mr. Clay. Will the Sengtor from New Hampshire allow me to interrupt him? I do not think that I said that Father Mattew had retracted his opinion; but, from the language used by him in reply to the invitation of Garrison and others, it is evident that his views in relation to the institution of slavery in this country are not such as

have been attributed to him.

Mr. Hale. I believe that the Senator from Kentucky is right. When Father Mathew was in Boston, I am aware that he was called upon to sanction, by his presence, the proceedings of a meeting to be held in commemoration of the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, and that he refused to do so; but he did not inti-mate to the committee of invitation—and I read the account of the occurrence with a good deal of attention—what his views were on the subject. Attention—what his views were on the subject. He took the course of non-intervention. He chose to be silent in regard to the subject; and upon that ground, if it were a matter that had connection with this proposition, I should withhold from it my vote; but I put it upon a very different ground. I regardit as it is regarded by the Senator from Kentucky, as a tribute to his virtues, to his residence with the properties in the matterial services. philanthropy, to his meritorious exertions in another and a different field of labor. I shall vote in favor of the resolution, although I disapprove of the course be has taken upon the slavery question. If the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Davis] will allow me a word: he said that if he had the power he would exclude from this floor every one who

would have perhaps three-fifths of those who were eft here of my own way of thinking, and leave a wholesome minority to keep the balance-wheels of wholesome minority to keep the balance-wheels of Government properly in notion, so that we should have free and fair discussion upon the subject. I hope I have made moself succession, for t would by no means seem to sanction Father Mathew's course in this respect. My objections to him are as deep upon that ground as those of the Senator from Alabama. They are of another color altogether, it is true, but go quite as far as his. Up-on the ground I have stated, I shall certainly vote

for the resolution; but with reluctance, I confess, fearing that I shall be misunderstood as sanctioning his course upon the subject of slavery, which disapprove as much as anybody. Mr. Badger, of North Carolina, moved to lay the resolution on the table. There was no precedent for such a resolution, and, if passed, it would furnish a precedent that might greatly embarrass them hereafter in discussions of the comparative merits of individuals sought to be spe-

cially honored. He withdrew his motion for Mr. Cass regretted the turn the debate had taken. The questions discussed would be upon them soon enough. He did not know or inquire the opinions of Father Mathew on the subject of slavery. The resolution was but a complimentary notice to a distinguished man, and he warmly

supported it. Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, declared himself in favor of the resolution. He eulogized the great Apostle of Temperance in glowing terms, and thought that almost the unanimous vote of the Senate would have been given for the resolution, but for the extraordinary speech of the Senator from New York. He hoped that Senator had done gross injustice to Father Mathew by representing him as "a mere abolition incendiary." He could not believe the reports concerning his

opinions on slavery to be true. And now, sir, let me turn my attention partice larly, for a moment or two, to the Senator from the Empire State, who has so unauthorizedly ad-vocated the resolution of the honorable Senator from Wisconsin, [Mr. Walker,] on the ground that Father Mathew is an avowed abolitionist in opinion, and is on that account worthy to receive special honor at the hands of an American Sen-Why, sir, the honorable Senator must have forgotten where he was he must have become suddenly oblivious of his official oath, which binds him to support the Constitution of the United States, whose sacred provisions guaranty perpetual protection to slavery against all foes, either for

Sir, what object did the honorable Senator from New York propose to attain by this extraordinary display of the morning? Is it his object mere ry display of the morning? Is it his object merely to monopolize the sate thies of the whole Irish
and Catholic population of the Republic; and, by
making this resolution odious to all who respect
the vitel principles which are embodied in our
political compact, and driving from its support all
but the avowed anti-slavery members of this body,
thus to establish exclusive claims to the future political support of this numerous and respectable class of American voters? Is it the acquisition of Presidential honors in 1852 that has be fancy of the honorable Senator from New York, and prompted him to utter that calumnious and deeply dishonoring panegyric upon the famed Missionary of Temperance, which has awakened in this hall so profound a sentiment of surprise, of indirection, and of theorem? Did I record in this hall so profound a sentiment of surprise, of indignation, and of horror? Did I regard Father Mathew as deserving any part of the commendation bestowed upon him, in connection with the cause of abolition, by the honorable Senator from New York, instead of recognising him as a noble philanthropist, I should feel compelled to class him with thieves, and robbers, and murders and side that in configuration.

derers, and midnight incendiaries.

Sir, there was a classic saying in the olden time, which all of us doubtless remember: "Quod tetigit id ornavit." The conduct of the honorable Senator from New York, and that of his abolition

Theobald Mathew be invited to take a seat upon | with the best motives, and without any reference ty; and when the wretched champions of abolition and free soil shall mourn in sackcloth and sakes over all the mischief which they have engendered, and seek in retirement and obscurity that immunity for offences perpetrated, and for still greater offences projected but counteracted, for which they will be indebted alone to the magnanimity of the people whom they have sought to betray and to ruin.

If the Southern States together. You tear down churches; burn up convents, inhabited by a few helpless nuns; get up processions in honor of a brutal prize-fighter; and raise riots at the bidding of a worthless player, in which scores of lives are sacrificed, without dreaming that there is anything in all this unbecoming the descendants of the pilgrin between the processions in honor of a brutal prize-fighter; and raise riots at the bidding of a worthless player, in which scores of lives are sacrificed, without dreaming that there is anything in all this unbecoming the descendants of the pilgrin between the processions in honor of a brutal prize-fighter; and raise riots at the bidding of a worthless player, in which scores of lives are sacrificed, without dreaming that there is anything in all this unbecoming the descendants of the pilgrin between the processions in honor of a brutal prize-fighter; and raise riots at the bidding of a worthless player, in which scores of lives are sacrificed, without dreaming that there is anything in all this unbecoming the descendants are the processions.

Mr. Mangum of North Carolina was in favor of the resolution :

Sir, in conferring honor upon a distinguished philanthropist, what may be his opinions on the subject of slavery I neither know nordo I inquire. I have no sensibility, sir, that can be excited by such small matters as the expression of any sensuch small matters as the capterstant of any statements as a mere individual opinion. I suppose that nobody can misconceive my general sentiments in connection with the subject of slavery; but, sir, this institution, whether for weal or for wo, may defy such weak assaults. It is based wo, may dely such weak assauts. It is cased upon a foundation that may defy danger from such a cause, and scorn to exhibit any apprehension in relation to its stability or justification. Sir, I do not suffer that consideration to weigh a

Mr. Butler of South Carolina thought the resolution extraordinary and unnecessary. But he did not wish to be understood as censuring Father Mathew. He believed, indeed, that gentlemen from both sections of the Union were mistaken as to his opinions on the Slavery Question. He was with the robes of the church—as one exercising under the impression that Father Mathew held that the people of the whole country had an equal right in the Territories of the Union. He opposed the resolution on general grounds.

Mr. Dickinson of New York sustained the res-

Mr. Badger reasserted his objection. he would exclude from this floor every one who sympathizes with the abolitionists, foreign and domestic.

Mr. Davis. Every Abolitionist, foreign and domestic.

Mr. Hale. Well, sir, it is sufficient that slavery has not got the power; and I venture to say, that when we came to have the committees of the Senate appointed, they should wear a little different complexion from what they do now. [Laughter.] I would restore the equilibrium, but not shut them all out. I wish him not to spring a new issue on us.

I do not wish or intend to be influenced by him in any way. I do not wish to fall into perhaps the very trap he has set for us. I wish to vote on this, as on all other occasions, entirely uninfluenced by what he says or does. If he thinks I shall vote against this resolution because he advocates it, I wish, for one, to show him that he cannot influence the committees of the Senate appointed, they wish, for one, to show him that he cannot influence the committees of the Senate appointed, they wish, for one, to show him that he cannot influence the committees of the Senate appointed the destruction of Slavery in the Southern States?

Mr. Houston of Texas was in favor of the resolution:

I bid him welcome. It has nothing to do, in my opinion, with all the noise of political strife, and I am not prepared to combine it with the that way any more than in any other.

I wish him not to spring a new issue on us.

Mr. Pearce of Maryland was opposed. If you make a precedent now, it will be followed up, and the end will be that the Senate of the United go, sir. But I do not think, at all times when this States will become a sort of court to give certificates of merit and good behaviour.

Mr. Douglas of Illinois supported the resolu-New York and New Hampshire showed that, when they came to talk of Father Mathew's sla-

or the Senator from New Hampshire, or either of hem that introduced the subject of slavery in onnection with Father Mathew?

Mr. Douglas. So far as I heard, it was one of

the Senator from Alabama, [Mr. Clemens.]
Mr. Douglas. That may be. I did not hear the emarks made by him. Mr. Seward. Will the honorable Senator mer tion what remark of the Senator from New York spoke of the character of Father Mathew's opinions upon the subject of slavery? Mr. Douglas. I cannot repeat the precise sen-

Mr. Seward. The idea, if you please. Mr. Douglas. I understood the Senator from New York to advocate this resolution as an en-

the debate by explanation. The Senator from New York received his information as to the ob-jection to this resolution from the Senator from Alabama, whose sole objection was that Father Mathew, once upon a time, signed an address in Ireland, with Daniel O'Connell, to the Irish in America, relative to the subject of slavery, and when called upon had not retracted it. The Senator from New York argued that he had the same right to express his opinions; and that the tribute proposed to be paid to him should not be withheld from him simply because he has sympathized with what the Senator from New York had considered

the cause of human freedom.

Mr. Douglas. I am happy to hear this explana ion, for I am allowed to c tion, for I am allowed to consider the explanation as a disavowal of any intention to advocate here as a disavorate range in the subject of slavery. I think it is doing injustice to the character of this distinguished philanthropist to attempt to connect his name with the subject of slavery on this side or on the other.

Mr. Douglas went on to make some strictures upon the general character of the debate, disclaiming, however, any purpose to apply his remarks to any member personally. Mr. Clemens rose to state more in detail his

easons against the resolution. During his speech an explanation was made by Senator Berrien concerning the position of Father Mathew, the invitation that had been given him by Southern Temperance Societies, and then withdrawn, &c.

Mr. Clemens of Alabama then proceeded-

The Senator from New York has spoken of his

interference with the subject of slavery as a recommendation; and the Senator from New Hampshire adds, that Father Mathew is not enough an abolitionist for him. Both Senators claim that this officious intermeddling with the property and the rights of others is a very praiseworthy exhibition of Christian charity, and sympathy for the wrongs of the slave. I never doubted, sir, that such were the opinions of those gentlemen. Their acts for years past have been too unequivocal to admit of misconstruction. I know that the cruelties of the slaveholder, and the sufferings of the down-trodden African, have formed the chief staple of all their discourses. Let me tell them that it would be well to look a little at home. There slavery, as follows:

Mr. President, I shall join in this homage as an, act of reverence to virtue alone, if for no other reason; but I must be permitted to say with all freedom, and trust that the freedom will be conceded to me, as I am at all times ready to conceded, it to others, that this act of respect shall not be allowed to be defeated because any peculiar opinions may be entertained by the person who is the subject of it, in regard to the institution of slavery. I must be allowed to say, with all respect, that I hope the American Senate will give evidence, by the unanimity with which we pass this resolution of the suniment who his almost annaimous amongst us, and deny the responsibility of its introduction here; and that, therefore, we should not withold this token of respect from virtue, merely because n, person who has expressed an opinion unfavorable when the subject of that Senator that a period has almost arrived when even his eloquent tongue will be stilled to complete or the nonorable Senator from New York, and that of his abolition associates and allies, here and elsewhere, is even they touch they defile; contact with them and their accurated they to reason; but the well to look a little at home. There are at your own dors objects of charity enough, without hunting for slaves upon whom to bestow it. There are at this very moment, in all your greaterities, thousands of homeless wretches, desting or an instinct that is not colored by crime. There are at your own dors objects of charity enough, such that the freedom will be well to look a little at home. There are at your own dors objects of charity enough, such they defile; contact with them and their accurated they touch they distinct that is not colored by crime. There are at your own dors objects of charity enough, such that of his abolition is the natural and own the feet the council for the medical such that of his abolition is the natural and own that is not colored by crime. There are at your own the they defile; contact with destruction; t

no further to be burdened with all the enormous expenses of Government without any of the benefits of actual legislation; when a few wicked and reckless demaggues in Congress will be no longer permitted to embroil our public councils with sestating that he had introduced the resolution with the best motives, and without any reference whatever to the question of slavery, with which it was not at all connected.

permitted to embroil our public councils with sed admission that we are not atto-ditious declamation, and put the happiness of the whole Republic in imminent peril, in order to earn for themselves a little dishonorable notories that the whole the wretched champions of aboli-fifteen Southern States together. You tear down

> ers, and then, but not till then, you may prate of the crime and misery which slavery engenders. I regret, Mr. President, that this debate has regret, Mr. President, that this debate has sprung up. I regret still more the course it has taken; not, however, from prudential considerations—not because, as the Senator from Kentucky has intimated, it is imprudent to discuss matters in relation to slavery—but because this question must soon be met in another form, and I was willing to let it slumber till then. But I may as well now say that the time for prudential action is past. The disease is a desperate one, and requires desperate remedies. For one, sir, I yield no inch of ground—no, not one hair's breadth. Whenever this anti-slavery sentiment shows itself, whatever form it may assume, I am ready to do battle against it. The time for half measures has gone by. You must let us alone, or take the conse-

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, strongly opposed the esolution:

Sir, what has been done? He to whom you propose to pay this compliment in the resolution now before us, as a man of peace—as one clothed with the robes of the church—as one exercising among men a moral power unparalelled in the world, by the success of his mission in a great and philanthropic effort—did lend the authority of that position to interfere in that question here while a foreigner and in a foreign land. Has he retracted? No! And we are told that we are tondered; it with that in unexpired we are to endorse it. With that sin unexpiated, we are told that the American Senate should pay a compliment that I have said has been paid specially Mr. Downs of Louisiana was in favor of the but once. Now, sir, I mean not to express any distrust of that gentleman's mission. I entertain

resolution. Some, he said, seemed disposed to vote against it, in consequence of the speech in favor of it by the Senator from New York. My mind has not been influenced by that fact. I think of his effort very much as the Senator from Mississippi has characterized it. Very likely he took that ground to start this issue, and to throw us in a false position and weaken our cause. I do not wish or intend to be influenced by him in any

that kind, or manufactures of any shape, unless

question may arise, we should consider that the time has passed by when prudential considera-tions should be entertained and cherished in this body. They are, sir, in the American People tion. The disagreement of the Senators from they are at the citizen's hearthstone; they are in your churches of sacred worship; they are in your court-houses; they are even upon your when they came to talk of Father Mathew's slavery opinions, they knew nothing of what they were talking.

Mr. Hale. Was it the Senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the senator from New York, while man cannot approach his dignity. the Union is worth preserving, prudential considerations are attached to the great mind of so

icity. I will cherish it properly on all occasions; I will oppose it on no occasion; but I will venture everything to avert the evils threatened; and I will never provoke them. I am not a garrulou old man, nor am I a testy old woman, sir, to threaten this Union. [Laughter.]

The debate was further continued by Messrs Yulee, Foote, Walker, Davis of Miss., Downs, and Calhoun. Mr. Calhoun said-Mr. President, I intend to limit my remarks

simply to the question of laying upon the table. It is now ascertained that there is no precedent Mr. Douglas. I understood and the couragement of anti-slavery sentiments, and I have noticed that the same construction has been given to it throughout the debate. I should be very happy to hear that I misunderstood the honorable Senator.

The Senator from New York subgraded in the condition of has now occupied us for hours, bringing up a dis-cussion which, so far as the gentleman is concerned who is the subject-matter of it, must wound his feelings much more than the compliment would heal them. The Senate now sees that Mr. Mathew cannot possibly receive the united invi-tation of this body. It must be a divided vote. The compliment, if it be passed, will be weaken-ed; and I submit it to every Senator, whether it will not be more acceptable to his feelings to lay it upon the table, upon the ground that we do not choose to make a precedent, than to vote for i

dividedly.

The Senator from Louisiana behind me [Mr Downs] urges the reason for making this a pre-sedent, that it is extraordinary; that the occasion s peculiar, and can scarcely hereafter be repeated. Sir, the very fact that it is extraordinary, i a motive for not making it a precedent. If you vote it down in a strong case, it will establish the rule so that it cannot be broken over hereafter. And if you vote affirmatively upon it, it will draw after it a train that it will be impossible to resist. You may refuse this on the ground that there is no precedent; but, if you make a precedent, then, when you come to object here-after to a resolution of this kind, it becomes a question of merit. Now, sir, gentlemen know, upon a question of merit, how difficult it is to

Sir, I must say that, in many respects, we do not respect ourselves as much as we ought. There is not a parliamentery body in the world that expliments of this kind. In the British Pa ament it is a high honor to be introduced by a listinguished member of either House privately No foreigner or other man ought to expect such a compliment from the United States. We owe ore to ourselves than to give it; and espec as this goes far beyond any other-admitting him within the bar of the Senate. Sir, I do hope the Senate will pause before they give an affirmative vote. I hope they will consider it and settle it. that compliments of this kind are not to be expected from us.

On the motion to lay the resolution on the table the vote stood-yeas 19, nays 34. The question then being put on the resolution, it was adopted-yeas 33, nays 18-as follows: YEAS-Messrs. Baldwin, Bell, Bradbury, Bright,

Yeas—Messrs. Baldwin, Bell, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Chase, Clarke, Clay, Cooper, Davis of Mass, Dickinson, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Downs, Felch, Greene, Hamlin, Houston, Jones, Mangum, Miller, Norris, Seward, Shields, Smith, Soulé, Stewart, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, Wales, Walker, and Whitcomb—33.

Nays—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Berrien, Borland, Parker, Callery, Borland, Charley, Charles, Char land, Butler, Calhorn, Clemens, Davis of Missies, sippi, Dawson, Foote, Hunter, Mason, Morton, Pearce, Rusk, Sebastian, Turney, and Yulee—18.

[All the nays from the slave States-all the

yeas from the free States, except nine—two from

iana, one from Texas, and one from Delaware.] HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. After the reading of yesterday's journal—
Mr. Giddings rose, he said, to propound a question to his colleague, [Mr. Vinton.] He was informed that his colleague presided last night at a caucus of the Whig party, and from which

any written communication between the two cau-Mr. Stanly replied: Nothing that they would be ashamed of, when disclosed.

Mr. Ashmun still retaining the floor with a

view to continuing his statement—
Mr. Toombs called him to order, on the ground that he was violating the rule prescribed by the resolution of the 14th instant, which prevents any debate or other business until a Speaker shall have been elected.

Mr. Stanly appealed to the gentleman from Georgia to allow the gentleman from Georgia to allow the gentleman from Massachusetts to make a fair statement.

Mr. Toomha said ha was opposed to the rule which had been adopted, but nevertheless he would insist on its being enforced, and protested

against its being made a convenience of, to be used only in some cases and not in others. Mr. Burt moved that the resolution be reseinded. Mr. Ashmun said that an inquiry having been permitted by the House to be made, he was proceeding, by unanimous consent, to give an answer

Mr. Toombs insisting on his point of order-The question was taken, whether the gentleman from Massachusetts was in order, and it was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Ashmun then said that he was not about to debate the rule, but, by general consent, by the courtesy of the House, was about to pro-Mr. Toombs wished the gentleman to under-

stand that it was not by general consent, as he for one was opposed to his proceeding. Mr. Ashmun remarked that, when the question was put, no objection was made until he had proceeded to answer. He could only say that he was at the Whig caucus, and that no such thing was done as had been intimated by the gentleman from Ohio. He (Mr. A.) was at the Whig caucus, and a resolution was passed appointing three members from the Southern States and three members from the Northern States to confer with a like number of members from the Democratic caucus, with a view to an organization of the House on

yist and fair principles.

Mr. Giddings said he had another question which he wished to propound to the gentleman from Massachusetts, and was proceeding to make an inquiry, when
Mr. Evans, of Maryland, raised a point of or-

der, that the gentleman from Ohio had no right to put further interrogatories to the gentle from Massachusetts without general consent. And the question having been taken whether

Mr. Giddings was in order or not, it was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Giddings was then understood to inquire whether the continuance of slavery in the Dis-trict of Columbia and its extension to the Territories was the basis of the arrangement? Mr. Ashmun replied, that neither that nor any other subject but the organization of the House

formed the basis of the arrangement.

Mr. Stanton, of Kentucky, interfered, and said that if it would be agreeable to the House, the cor-respondence which took place between the two parties might be read.

And Mr. Stanton having sent the papers to the lerk's table the following was road on the am

nation of the Whig caucus: To the Chairman of the Democratic Caucus in the Hall of the House of Representatives : "Resolved, That the members of the Whig arty propose to the members of the Donocraticarty the appointment of a committee of six genparty the appointment of a committee of six gen-tlemen, to meet a committee of the same number on the part of the Whig party, to consult upon and on the part of the Whig party, to consult upon and report to their respective meetings a mode of defi-nite organization of the House of Representatives upon just and fair principles, and that Messrs. White of New York, Conrad of Louisians, Breck of Kentucky, Vinton of Ohio, Stanly of North Carolina, and Ashmun of Massachusetts, be the committee on the part of the Whigs.

Chairman of the Whig Meeting.

"JAMES BROOKS, Secretary." The following response of the Democratic cau-"Resolved, That the chairman of this meeting appoint six members of the Democratic party, to confer with the committee appointed by the Whig meeting, and report the result of their conference to a meeting of the Democratic party to be held

in this hall to-morrow night.

"Mr. Stanton of Tennessee, Mr. Thompson of Pennsylvania, Mr. Bayly of Virginia, Mr. McClernand of Illinois, Mr. Harris of Alabama, McClernand of Hillson, and Mr. Potter of Ohio. "J. Thompson, Chairman of the Democratic Meeting. "Attest: R. H. STANTON, Secretary"

The reading of this correspondence was follow-d by much laughter on both sides of the House; and before quiet was restored— Mr. Root rose to make a suggestion. [Loud cries of "call the roll." Mr. Root. Gentlemen ought not to be in so great a hurry to have the roll called; they should wait for the joint committee to report. We are told that the ox knoweth his master, and the ass his master's crib: but certainly there have been nany strange animals here within a few days sany strange animals nere wallanghter.] Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, rose to a point of order; that no debate could be allowed under the

esolution passed on the 14th instant.

Mr. Root said that he would move to rescind he resolution, and proceed to discuss this ques-Mr. Van Dyke called the gentleman to order, on the ground that his motion was not debatable.

Mr. Root was proceeding further to speak on
his motion to rescind the resolution of the 14th

nstant, when Mr. Stanly raised the question of order, that no debate was in order under that resolution.

There was a general demand that the question should be taken on the point of order. The Clerk then stated the question, as follows: The gentleman from Ohio had made a motion to rescind the resolution cutting off debate until a Speaker shall have been elected, and after so doing was proceeding to make remarks, when he was called to order by the gentleman from North Car-

Mr. Giddings rose and said he intended to debate the question of order.

Mr. Van Dyke called the gentleman to order, on the ground that a question of order was not Mr. Giddings proceeded. His colleague [Mr.

But, before the Clerk put the question to the

House whether the gentleman from

Loud and long cries of "order," "order."

Mr. Giddings, however, persisted in holding the floor, saying that he intended to debate the question of order, and to show that his colleague had a right to proceed in his remarks.

Mr. Van Dyke and others insisted on the point of order, and the question being taken. Mr. Gid. of order; and the question being taken, Mr. Giddings was decided to be out of order, and he took

Root] had proposed to show the reason why the resolution should be rescinded, when he was call-

his seat, remarking that it was not the first time he had been choked on that floor.

The question was then taken in the case of Mr. Root, and he was also declared to be out of order in proceeding to debate his motion to rescind the ntion of the 14th instant. The question or the 14th instant.

The question on the motion to rescind the resolution prohibiting debate was next put, and it was disagreed to by the following vote—yeas 90, nays 130.

Mr. Albertson then offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That James McDowell, of Virginia,

Resolved, That James McDowell, of Virginia, be and he is hereby chosen Speaker pro tempore; and that, upon his assuming the chair, the House will proceed to the election of Clerk, Sergeant-at-Arms, Dcorkeeper, and Postmaster; and upon the election of those officers the House will proceed to vote for a permanent Speaker, and will continue so to vote from day to day until a permanent Speaker shall be elected; and in the mean time the said temporary Speaker shall not appoint any committee on behalf of the House, nor shall the House itself elect any, or entertain any petition, at bill, or proposition whatever, looking to legislation, Kentucky, one from Tennessee, one from North Carolina, one from Maryland, two from Louis-

WHOLE NO. 156.

until such permanent Speaker shall have been duly elected.

Mr. Wood said that, believing the resolution to be out of order, he would move to lay it on the table; which mo tion was agreed to, as follows-

keneding

yeas 127, nays 94. A motion now to adjourn failed -- yeas 74, nay

The roll was called for the 59th time, following result : Edward Stanly, of North Carolina John A. McClernand, of Illinois -Linn Boyd, of Kentucky -William Strong, of Pennsylvania Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania -John K. Miller, of Ohio E. Carrington Cabell, of Florida -Robert C. Schenck, of Ohio Howell Cobb, of Georgia

James McDowell, of Virginia Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania Richard J. Bowie, of Maryland -R. M. McLane, of Maryland Charles S. Morehead, of Kentucky James M. H. Beale, of Virginia -Emery D. Potter, of Ohio -Charles M. Conrad, of Louisiana R. W. Johnson, of Arkansas Edward W. McGaughey, of Indiana David K. Carter, of Ohio - -

McClernand, Stanly, and Wilmot, received the For John A. McClernand. -- Messrs. Albertso Ashe, Bay, Bayly, Beale, Bissell, Bowlin, Boyd Abert G. Brown, William J. Brown, Cable, How ell Cobb. Disney, Dunham, Ewing, Fitch, Gerry Gilmore, Gorman, Hall, Hamilton, Thomas L. Harris, Hoagland, Holmes, Kaufman, Leffler, Littlefield, Job Mann, McDowell, Robert M. Mc-Lane, McMullen, McWillie, Miller, Millson, Morris, Olds, Parker, Phelps, Potter, Robbins, Robinson, Savage, Sawtelle, Sweetzer, Thomas, Jacob Thompson, James Thompson, Wm. Thomp-

Son, Whitlesey, and Young.

For Edward Storie. Moore Alexander, Anderson, Ashmun, Baker. Bennett, Bokee, Powie, Breck, Briggs, Brooks, Burrows, Chester Butler, Thomas B. Butler, Joseph P. Caldwell, Calvin, Casey, Chandler, Cole, Conrad, Corwin, Deberry, Dixon, Duer, Duncan, Alexander Evans, Nathan Evans, Freedley, Gould, Grinnell, Hallo-Johnson, Kerr, Daniel P. King, George G. King, James G. King, John A. King, Levin, Marshall, Matteson, McKissock, F. E. McLean, Moore, Nelson, Newell, Ogle, Otis, Outlaw, Phoenix, Pitnan, Reed, Reynolds, Risley, Rockwell, Ro Rumsey, Schenck, Schermerhorn, Schoolcraft, Shepperd, Silvester, Taylor, John B. Thompson, Thurman, Underhill, Van Dyke, Vinton, Watkins, White, Williams, and Winthrop.

For David Wilmot — Messrs. Allen, Durkee, Giddings, Julian, Preston King, Root, and Tuck.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

The House then adjourned.

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 27, 1849.

SEVERAL REVIEWS are noticed on our 4th page, among them, two of the Foreign Quarter-lies, republished by Leonard Scott & Co., New York, and for sale by W. Adam, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

THE CHILD'S PLAYHOUSE.—The author of the Child's Playhouse, on our fourth page, pleases us so well, that we shall be very happy to hear from her again.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PRUSSIAN REVOLU-TION .- The second part of the series of chapters on the Prussian Revolution, by our European correspondent, is commenced in this week's Era, (see 4th page.) The author has made himself familiar with the causes and course of revolutions in Eu-

AN APOLOGY.

The important Congressional proceedings and the President's Message have crowded out much editorial, and left very little room for correspondents. It will be impossible, for two or three numment, and the next, we hope, will finish the rest.

We have on hand some very valuable contributions, which shall appear as soon as we can make room. Our poetical correspondents, specially, have laid us under many obligations.

Many new publications, lately received, will be noticed in our next. We hope the publishers, to whom we are indebted for so many favors, will excuse unavoidable delay.

INDEX TO THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE ERA.

We had intended to print in this number, a index to the 3d volume of the Era: but it occupied so much room, that, with the President's Message, it would scarcely have admitted anything else. We shall therefore issue it in an extra sheet, which will be sent to all our subscribers, when the process of renewing their subscriptions shall have been completed.

THE FRIEND OF YOUTH.

The third number of the Friend of Youth was mailed to subscribers last Monday. Its contents are peculiarly attractive, and are as follows: CONTRIBUTED -Henry Hanson's Unlucky Day, by Martha Russell; Euthanasia, by Dr. William Elder; Honor thy Father and thy Mother, by Mary Irving, (concluded;) Geometrical Question.

SELECTED - The Child and the Queen; The Noble Hearted Sailor Boy ; Taking a Lesson ; Lazy Beavers ; Henry Box Brown ; Unrolling a Mummy ; The Bishop and the Birds; The Peaches; Poverty a Blessing; The Arab and his Barb; Untutored

POETRY .- The Mouse and the Cake; I'll neve use Tobacco; Self-Communion, by Mrs. Bailey. EDITORIAL. - Christmas; New Books; Chapte for Mothers and Daughters; Contentment, or Ella's Wants; Unspoken Fulsehood.

Price 50 cents a year; five copies for \$2. Address Mrs. Margaret L. Bailey, Washington, D. C.

MR. ROBINSON OF INDIANA.

From a note addressed to us by this gentleman and from the corrected report of his speech in the Congressional Globe, we learn that we did injustice to him in representing him as a Non-Interventionist. We regret this error the more, because our paper has an extensive circulation in his district. We are assured that he was elected as a Wilmot Proviso man, continues unchanged, and will support without wavering, that policy We wish it were in our power to name him among the few Democrats who refused to vote for a Slavery Propagandist for Speaker.

CODEY'S LADY'S BOOK.

The notice we are about to take of this " Lady's Book," as it is styled, is somewhat different from our usual notices of such publications. We find the following choice morsel in the Columbia (S. C.) Telegraph, which recently denounced Godey's Magazine, because GRACE GREENWOOD, one of its editors, was an occasional contributor to the National Era:

LETTER FROM MR. GODEY .- The following let ter from Mr. Godey needs but a few wor ment. Our readers all recollect that we did not charge the Book with containing Abolition but merely cited the affinities of its conductors as an argument against lining Northern pockets with Southern cash.

We have no special objection to Mr. Godey's Book, farther than to the whole class of which it is a sample, and therefore give him the full benefit of his own disclaimer:

"Philadelphia, December 1, 1849.

"Gentlemen: I have just been made aware, by an article in the 'South Carolinian,' that you have made an attack on the 'Lady's Book,' for entertaining and publishing opinions against the institutions of the South. I have been publishing the Lady's Book for twenty years, and if in that time one line can be found aspersing in any way Southern institutions, I am willing to fall under your censure. If I am responsible for publishing articles from writers who write for Abolition parers how much more open to censure must the "PHILADELPHIA, December 1, 1849. articles from writers who write for Abolition papers, how much more open to censure must the proprietors of 'Sartain's Magazine' be, whose contributors are mostly of that class, and who have published articles of that character, two of which I enclose. Why, then, should I be blamed? I call upon you, as gentlemen and brother publishers, to do me but simple justice in this matter. Where the fault belongs, there let the censure

3 4

see that Grace Greenwood's name is withdrawn from the cover, where it was placed nominally as editor, she never having had the least control over its columns. I have not seen the article in your paper alluded to, and should like to receive to Surely, living in a different part of the convergence. it. Surely, living in a different part of the country should not make me liable for an offence I

never committed.

"I trust, gentlemen, you will do me justice in this case, or show me that I am guilty.

"Very respectfully, yours, L. A. Godey.

To the Editors of the Telegraph." Mr. Godey has chosen his market; let him peddle his wares there, to his heart's content. Let him try which is the better paymaster, Freedom or Slavery. While by base compliances he is paying court to the latter, he can hope for no favor from the friends of the former. The Telegraph, while admitting his letter to its columns. evidently despises the writer, and does not even thank him for dismissing Grace Greenwood from the editorship.

We have had the "Curiosities of Literature : at the head of the list.

THE ELECTION OF A SPEAKER.

Ere this our readers have been apprized of the election of a Speaker of the House of Representatives. For the detailed proceedings on Saturday last, which led to this result, they are referred to our Congressional report.

The struggle has terminated as from the bezinning we apprehended it would, but our mortification is no less poignant. We have little faith in the nerve and firmness of Northern men, when involved in a contest with slaveholders.

The Washington Union is exultent. It says On every account, therefore, we hail the election of Howell Cobb as a victory to the Democratic party, and a cheering sign to the whole country of the triumph of truth and of principle." Before the meeting of Congress, the Union labored to show Mr. Winthrop's unfitness for the Chair of Speaker, because he was a Wilmot Proviso man; and to unite Southern Whigs with Democrats in opposition to him on this single

nent issue in the election for Speaker. The Democratic caucus took the same ground and nominated for the offices of Speaker, Clerk, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Doorkeeper, men openly ommitted against the Wilmot Proviso.

ground. It made the Slavery Question the prom

During the protracted struggle that ensued, it was openly and emphatically proclaimed by Southern Democratic members, that no man adhering to the policy of the Proviso could receive their votes for any office.

The Northern Democrats voted generally with

o reference whatever to the views of their candidate on the Slavery Question: the Southern Democrats never gave a single vote to any candidate not known to be opposed to the policy of Slavery-Restriction, and the agitation of the Slavery Question-except in two instances, that of Mr. Potter and that of Mr. Brown; but, the moment they learned that the former had given some votes, during his public career, on the side of Freedom, and refused, as candidate for the Speakership, to give any pledges of any kind, they intimated their hostility so plainly, that he felt obliged to withdraw his claims; and no sooner had they learned that the latter had pledged himself to constitute the Committees of the House so as fairly to represent the sentiment of the country on the subject of Slavery, than they dropped him with one consent.

In every possible way was the demonstration made complete that the Southern Democratic members regarded adhesion to the policy of Slavery Restriction as a total bar to office. Acquiescence in the doctrine and policy of Slavery Extenbers to come, to give much variety in the Era. sion they made a test of Democracy, a condition to any office in the gift of the House.

To put this beyond all doubt, and to coerce the Northern Democrats into submission to this test, the Washington Union, Thursday or Friday las published the following:

"The following telegraphic despatch was ceived by the South Carolina delegation in Con-gress, on Wednesday evening about nine o'clock. from the Legislature of the State, now in session t Columbia Resolution by the South Carolina Legislature, Decem

ber 19, 1849. Resolved, That we cordially approve of the cour of those Southern members in Congress who have refused to vote for any member of that body as refused to vote for any memoer of that body as Speaker in the slightest degree tainted with un-soundness upon the slavery question; and that we fully respond to the sentiment of our delega-tion, expressed by one of them, that if slavery be holished in the District of Columbia by Congress r the Wilmot Proviso be adopted, the Unio

rould be dissolved. The Georgia Legislature have adjourned, to meet on the second Monday in January, with view to decide on the course which the State shall adopt when the action of Congress on the slavery uestion is decided. We are informed that th xpressed tone of the Legislature of Georgia is son with that of South Carolina, and that there not a dissentient in either Legislature."

Now for the result. Caucuses were held of Committee of Conference; the Democratic cauous did the same, many of the Northern Democrats dissenting. The Whig Committee, by instruction of the Whig caucus, proposed that, after hree more trials for Speaker viva voce, if there hould be no election, the candidate on the fourth trial, having a plurality of votes, should be elected. The Democratic Committee submitted the proposition to the Democratic caucus, which rejected it, but resolved, should the proposition be adopted in the House, to concentrate on Howell Cobb. The caucus that passed this resolution, numbered, we earn, not more than forty or fifty members, chiefly slaveholding members, and not constitu ting one-half of the Democratic strength. How such a resolution could be deemed binding on the whole party, according to Democratic usage, we cannot understand, unless it be Democratic usag

lways to submit to slaveholding dictation. What followed needs little comment. Early in he session of Saturday, a Southern Demoerat introduced the proposition of the Whig caucus, for election by plurality. The Free Soil Men, some of the Southern men who believed it a violation of the spirit of the Constitution, and ome of the Northern Democrats, including nearly he whole of the Ohio delegation, who were unwilling to be reduced to the necessity, as they termed it, of choosing between Messrs. Cobb and Winthrop, voted against it. The Whigs generally, by the aid of Southern Democrats chiefly, who anticipated the election of Howell Cobb, carried it through the House. The Northern Democrats, all Wilmot Proviso Men but three or four, elected by constituencies devoted to the policy of the Proviso, followed the lead of the Slavery Propagandists of their Party, and gradually concentrated upon the candidate they had lictated, until, on the last and decisive trial, but five Northern Democrats, outside of the ranks of the Free Soil Men proper, were found voting against Slavery-Extension! These five were, Amos Wood of Ohio, a noble exception in his delegaion-Ex-Governor Doty of Wisconsin, Ex-Govrnor Cleveland and General Booth of Connecicut, and Mr. Peck of Vermont-not one of whom ould be persuaded from the beginning to the end of the struggle to vote against the policy of their Let them be remembered and honored by the riends of Freedom. All the rest of the Northern Democrats submitted to the degrading test made by the Slavery Propagandists, and by their

and sanctioned the assumption that adhesion to the Wilmot Proviso is a disqualification for holding office in the House of Representatives. For this they must account to their constitu ents. If the People they represent are willing to submit to such degradation, to be proscribed by Slavery-Propagandists, on account of their Wilmot Proviso notions, then let them approve of the

very Extension in the organization of the House,

fall. I send you a January number. You will constituents would be displeased should they, by telligently—but in fact there was no independ- State Legislatures could the requisite majorities expressed our opinion. It has served, at least, one refusing to vote for Howell Cobb, hazard the ence, no intelligent action, no freedom of choice. be found, in favor of submitting to the People the purpose, and that is, to bring to light the fact election of a Democratic Speaker. If their constituents could thus so completely subordinate the inable usage has received a blow at this session so as to abolish the Union? In many, the nulli- pledges from candidates for the Speakership. great question of Slavery Extension, to mere par- which will tell hereafter. They stood alone—no fying party would be cried down—in some, they That such pledges have been exacted in former ty considerations, then they are a great deal more | Senator from the free States ventured to sustain | would succeed; but how then would they give to be condemned than their representatives. Let them in their manly opposition to the dictation a definite practical shape to the project? It which the movements of the Free Soil Men so the question be settled between them. Let us of the twin tyrants, Secret Caucus and Slavery. know whether there be any non-slaveholding con- But this will not always be so. The People will stituency in the free States willing to send men | see the necessity of sending men to the Senate of | Mississippi, might, by majority votes of their to Congress to organize the House and the Sen- equal nerve and fidelity, and independent of the respective populations, resolve to sec-de, but that ate on the principle of Slavery Extension.

We have spoken frankly, but with no unfriendly feelings, of our Democratic friends. We shall have a word for our Whig friends in another paper.

THE SENATE USAGES - THE APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

The least Democratic branch of this Government is the Senate; the members being elected cannot somebody furnish a book on the Mean- for six years, and by the Legislatures of the sevnesses of Literature? What ample materials in eral States, are too far removed from the People this country! Godey's Lady's Book would stand to sympathize deeply with popular ideas and principles.

We speak of the general character of that body. It is essentially conservative, as opposed to progress. It dislikes agitation, eschews radicalism, and seeks repose. And as it is composed of but few members, it is liable to fall under the domination of some powerful Class Interest. It is easier for the designing few to monopolize power in an ssembly of fifty or sixty men, than in one of two or three hundred.

The Senate is the stronghold of the Slave organization. We ask the reader's attention to the character and relations of the chairmen of the Standing Committees. Of the entire number, wenty-seven, eleven are from the free, sixteen from the slaveholding States.

Of these eleven, one, Mr. Douglas, is a slaveolder, identified with the Slave Interest; and three, Messrs. Dickinson, Sturgeon, and Walker, are in subjugation to this Interest, so that there are, in fact, but seven members in any degree representing the sentiment of the free States, chairmen of committees.

Then look at the character of some of the appointments in other respects: Dickinson, a man never suspected of being particularly bright, at he head of the Committee of Finance! Sebastian f Arkansas, who has probably never seen a facory, Chairman of the Committee on Manufactures! Turney of Tennessee, a State characterized, in ommon with all the Southern States, except Maryland and Virginia, by an absence of inventive genius, at the head of the Committee on Patents! Rusk of Texas, a State whose postage expenses are borne by the revenue received in the commercial States, Chairman of the Commitee on the Post Office and Post Roads!

Very appropriate appointments, are they not? But this is not the worst. The chair of every mportant committee is filled either by a slaveolder, or a man willing to do the work of slavery. Foreign Relations are in the custody of King of Alabama: Military Affairs under the care of Davis of Mississippi: Naval Affairs under that of Yulee of Florida—a State and a Senator of the least possible distinction: Indian Affairs under the headship of Atchison of Missouri, who has avowed his purpose to drive Mr. Benton from the Senate: Finance under the superintendence of plantation of slaves, and who disobeyed the instructions of the Legislature of his State on the subject of Freedom and Free Soil: the Judiciary controlled by Butler of South Carolina, who denies the right of the people of California to organize a State, and introduced a bill, at the last session of Congress, to make postmasters and custom-house officers slave catchers. Meantime, custom-house officers slave catchers. Meantime the District of Columbia is protected by Mr. Mason of Virginia, and the Library by Mr. Pearce of Maryland-the only Whig who is his slaveholding colleagues, during the last Con-Washington papers are placed in that Chamber. Every important branch of the public service

o far as the Senate is concerned, is placed under the guardianship and control of Slavery. Now, look at the composition of the committees. On each of sixteen of the twenty-seven committees Committee on Foreign Relations there is but one member from a free State: on Indian Affairs, not one member; on the Territories, but one nonconstituted with the express view of securing to being threatened with the Wilmot Proviso. slavery all it claims in free territory. The Comthe application of California for admission as a would constitute one Confederacy; New York. State, is controlled by Butler of South Carolina. both the old parties. The Whig caucus appointed Downs of Louisiana, and Berrien of Georgia, constituting a majority-all of whom are uncompromising supporters of the extreme pretensions of slavery. The Library of Congress, from which is | Southern Confederacy, which would find in their with the interests of the "peculiar institution," is in the keeping of Pearce of Maryland, Mason | the Western Confederacy be rendered dependent of Virginia, and Davis of Mississippi. Not a to a great extent, upon the Southern. which. member from a free State is allowed to participate

in such censorship. At no period in the history of the Governnent have the views, rights, and interests of the non-slaveholders of the country, constituting, as they do, nine-tenths of its population, been so utterly disregarded in the organization of the Comnittees of the Senate. And yet these committees were constituted by and with the consent of Northern Whigs and Democrats. Not the slightest opposition or dissent was manifested in any claimers would be missing. quarter, except by Messrs. Hale and Chase. Even when these gentlemen insisted upon the application of the rule which requires balloting, at o time could more than two or three votes from he free States be obtained against the nominees for Chairmen and Committees. Even in relation to the composition of the Committees on the Territories, the Judiciary, and the District of Covail apon any Northern men to stand with them. So far from it, we find Mr. SEWARD of New York. who has in past times distinguished himself for his zeal for Human Rights, emphatically declaring in his place-

"I will remark, however, that I cordially concu with the nominations that have been made for the Com-mittees, and I cheerfully give my assent to the resolution about to be proposed by the Senator from North Carolina."

With profound regret do we record such a dec ration as this. We wish it were in our power

to say that it was a slip of the tongue. A word now, as to the manner in which these results are accomplished. At a certain stage of reconsidered. What, then, would the Southern them, and went over to the candidate of the Taycoceedings, secret caucuses of the two old organare prompt in their attendance: the members from the free States are rather remiss. In Democratic caucus, the candidates for Chairmen are selected, as are the members, to constitute the majorities of the committees. The Whig caucus constituents and their own convictions of right. is notified of this, and the privilege is extended to it, of selecting the members to compose the minorities. The entire process of selection and virtual election is carried on in secret-the People cannot see in what way, on what principles, to | and pass bills, and the President would sanctio votes secured the triumph of the principle of Sla- what ends, it is conducted. The entire work of them, None of the functions of Governmen

sibility whatsoever to Public Opinion. The next step is, for a distinguished membe to arise in his place, in open Senate, and ask the number. But, the legislative power cannot mend ganization of the House, certain principles, and nanimous consent of that body to the nominations which he holds in his hand-the secretly prepared nominations. For four years, and until this session, this consent has been given—the Senate tamely, without question or inquiry, going course of their representatives. We know that through a mere form, to ratify the elections also and corresponding parties in the some of these gentlemen are sincere friends of ready made where the public eye was not suffered several States, for a Dissolution of the Union or sustain the measure.

trammels of party.

THE U. S. SENATE AND FATHER MATHEW.

rious Senatorial debate reported on our first page- gress might pass a bill recognising the secession lution to grant Father Mathew the honor of a and at the White House would flow on in their seat on the floor of the Senate during his sojourn | usual course. in Washington.

A Senator from Alabama said he could not vote signed a certain anti-slavery address some years

Mr. Seward, of New York, hoped that would not be deemed an objection in an American Senate; whereupon the slaveholding members generally took fire, and blazed out with unusual fierceness. Their eloquence was "scathing," the Union thinks; in which remark, no doubt, the tempestuous orators fully concur. Mr. Seward took the matter quite coolly, seem-

ing rather disposed to enjoy the scene which his inoffensive remarks had provoked. These windmill heroics are doubtless designed to awaken Power. It reigns almost supreme throughout its wholesome alarm in the hearts of anti-slavery people, but they awaken very different feelings. The indulgence of bad temper and braggart threats on every trivial occasion, begets contempt rather than awe.

As to the resolution itself, it was a very unimportant matter. Had it not been for the extravgant course of some of the slaveholding members t is not improbable that several Northern Senators might have concurred in the opinion of Mr. Calhoun, whose remarks, we think, were just and to the point. But, sectional feeling having been aroused, not a single Northern Senator voted

against the resolution. By the way, we are curious to know what business the new Senator from Alabama, Mr. Clemens, has in the Senate. Speaking of the Slavery Question, he assumes that "the time for prudential action is past"-meaning, we presume, the time for deliberation and discussion. Why, then, is he in the Senate of the United States? If he believe what he says, he had better go home, muster a company of militia, and tell those who have nothing but broom handles to get guns if they can, and busy themselves in running bullets. of the committee on the subject was superseded He would make quite as good a corporal as Sen-

THE UNION.

A dinner was lately given to Garrett Davis of Kentucky, formerly a member of Congress from that State, by the Louisville bar. One of the regular toasts was as follows:

honor, to maintain it." The Disunionists, in counting the States to be Dickinson of New York, the humblest creature of relied upon, should the flag of Disunion be unthe Slave Power: the Territories under the furled, reckon Kentucky in the number, because guardianship of Douglas of Illinois, who owns a of the failure of the Emancipationists on the

It might be well for the Southern Nullifiers to try the experiment of dissolving the Union. That they desire and intend to do so, we have little doubt. We give them credit for sincerity, when chairman of a committee -- a gentleman who, with they arow deadly heard to the Union. Their prejudices against the North are inveterate. They gress refused to allow to the National Era a place look with far more complacency on alliance with in the Library of Congress, although all other | England than union with the free States. They imagine themselves oppressed by the General Government, and the greater the prosperity of the North, the deeper the injustice done to them Were the Union dissolved, they suppose that the South and Southwest would constitute one homogeneous Confederacy, with institutions safe from the majority is composed of slaveholders. On the disturbance, or discussion. Their commerce would be unfettered. The looms of Britain would consume their cotton, and supply them in return with all the fabrics they needed, at the lowest slaveholder. Only on the unimportant committees prices. At their pleasure, as it became necessary are the members from the free States allowed a to extend the area of slave-labor, they could anmajority. The Committee on the Territories is nex the adjoining provinces of Mexico, without

Meantime, the Northern, Middle, and Westmittee on the Judiciary, to which will be referred ern States would be divided. New England Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, another; the Western States a third; Oregon a fourth. Their divisions and rivalries and conflicts would prevent them from becoming formidable to the great sought to be excluded everything not in harmony mutual discords the means of subserving its own purposes. New England would be impoverished, united within itself, and strengthened by alliance with England, could easily give law to the Con-

> Such are their speculations. But, there are more ways than one of viewing a question. How many sincere Disunionists could be mu tered in favor of the last resort? How many of those now brawling most fiercely, mean nothing more than to intimidate the Northern men? When the hour for action should come, many of the de-

Let us suppose the Wilmot Proviso question settled on the side of Freedom. The bill, admitting California as a State, with a Constitution prohibiting Slavery, has received the sanction of the President, and is law. The Senators of the new free State have taken their seats. Straightway, a Southern Convention is called to deliberate upon "the mode and measure of redress." lumbia, Messrs. Hale and Chase could not pre- How many States would be represented in it? Could Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Louisiana, Texas, be looked to for any efficient aid in car rying out revolutionary purposes? But, suppos lelegates from every Southern State represented what then? California is admitted as a Statewould it be in the power of the whole South to Slavery. How could a Southern Convention repeal the interdict? The evil of slavery-restriction, as they might regard it, has been consummatedhow could it be remedied? The legislation by which this result had been reached, could not be Convention do? Dissolve the Union, by way of izations are called. The slaveholding members avenging the South? That would be beyond its was calculated to throw doubt over the position of from Delaware, North Carolina, Maryland, Kenlike to return home, after giving a vote recommending a dissolution of the Union? But, suppose the recommendation made, the Convention adjourned. The Federal Government would go on as usual. Congress would meet, and debate, organizing the committees is done without any | would be interrupted. The recommendation of the Southern Convention would be submitted to had supported Mr. Winthrop. We think they the Legislatures of the Southern States-fifteen in | did right; for they sought to establish, in the orthe State Constitution, much less abolish the they knew that either Stevens or Strong repre-Union. The proposition for a dissolution of the sented those principles. In passing, we may re-Union, as submitted by the Southern Convention, would have to undergo long and thorough discussion. Parties at once would be formed in several friend of it, and his constituency in Hamilton

would not be in their power to dissolve the Union; South Carolina, and Georgia, and Alabama, and would not unsettle the Union. The Union would still exist in all its power. Representatives and Senators would be elected from the rest of the States-and if from the free States alone, they Our readers will be rather interested in a cu- would constitute a quorum to do business. Con-Mr. Walker, of Wisconsin, introduced a reso- of the States named, but, things in the Capitol

What would have been gained by the Disunionists? A position of total insignificance and for it because the Apostle of Temperance had helplessness. What single grievance now complained of would have been redressed? Califoraia would continue closed against slaves. The question in relation to the other Territories, if before unsettled, would now be very promptly decided, and how could the seceded States help themselves? Then, as to their fugitive slaveswhat would become of them? The privilege of pursuit and recapture would be forfeited. Withal, they are the last States which should venture on revolutionary violence. The Slave System could not live amidst civil commotion. Its greatest security now is in the repose secured by the Union of these States

In view of all these considerations, we say, let all those who contemplate a Dissolution of the Union, try the experiment. The sooner the bet-ter. It cannot essentially impair the Union-it will most certainly demonstrate the utter futility of all attempts to break up the existing Confederacy.

KENTUCKY.

The Louisville Examiner, which has hitherto been published weekly, will appear hereafter in a monthly form. We regret the necessity of this change. The Examiner is one of our best exchanges, and its services to the cause of Freedom in Kentucky can scarcely be overrated. No journal has handled the Slavery Question with more ability and judgment, and better temper. We hope that as a monthly it will receive more liberal encouragement.

The friends of Emancipation in that State manifest no disposition to give up the contest. The new Constitution will probably leave the question of slavery as it stood under the old one. Recently, in the Convention, the greater part of the report by a vote adopting the provisions of the present Constitution in relation to slavery, with an additional provision for the removal of emancipated slaves, as follows:

"The General Assembly shall pass laws providing that any free negro or mulatto hereafter Wm. J. Alston, Als.
J. M. Anderson, Tenn.
G. R. Andrews, N. Y.
Wm. S. Ashe, N. C.
George Ashmun, Mass.
T. H. Averett, Va.
E. D. Baker, Ill.
W. V. N. Bay, Mo
Thomas H. Bayly, Va.
J. M. H. Beale, Va.
Henry Bennett, N. Y.
K. S. Bingham, Mich. F.
Wm. H. Bissell, Ill.
David A. Bokee, N. Y.
Thomas S. Beccek, Va.
Waiter Booth, Conn. F.
F. W. Bowdon, Als.
Richard I Bowie, Md.
James B. Bowlin, Mo.
Linn Boyd, Ky.
Daniel Breck, Ky.
George Briggs, N. Y.
James Brooks, N. Y.
A. G. Brown, Miss.
Wm. J. Brown, Is.
Alex. W. Buel, Mich.
Lorenzo Burrows, N. Y.
Armistead Rurt S. C.
Chester Butler, Con
E. C. Cabell, Fla.
Thomas B. Butler, Con emigrating to, or being emancipated in, and refus-ing to leave this State, or, having left, shall re-turn and settle within this State, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and punished by confinement

in the penitentiary thereof." This is barbarous enough to satisfy the Perpetualists.

COMMUNICATION.

To the Editor of the National Era: DEAR SIR: I retain so much of my ancient party predilections as to make me desirous that both of

eulogized or passed over in silence.
I cannot understand how Cleveland and Booth, in voting for candidates who voted for Cobb. can e said to have voted throughout for a Free Soil candidate, any more than Campbell and Crowell, Doty's vote for Disney, an avowed opponent of the Wilmot Proviso, can be called a vote for a

ree Soil candidate. The idea that has always been pressed in Massachusetts is, that it is not enough that a candidate should be in favor of the Proviso preventing slavery extension, but that that question must be the test of party organization. Without this being the test, there would be nothing for the distinctive Free Soil party to rest upon in this State; for, under the old Whig organization, no opponent to that Proviso could be elected to any office.

These remarks are caused by the perusal of the emarks in the Era of the 13th. Messrs. Sprague and Howe are held to a strict count for their votes in favor of a candidate not rofessing to belong to the distinctive Free Soil arty, while all the Democrats elected by Free Soil votes thus voting are gently passed over, and Messrs. Cleveland and Booth are distinctly com-

Nathan Evans, Md.
Nathan Evans, O.
Andrew Ewing, Tenn.
W. F. Feathers n, Miss.
Graham N. Fitch, Ia.
Orrin Fowler, Mass.
John Freedley, Pa.
T. J. D. Fuller, Me. limented for their firmness. I regret exceedingly that events which have ocurred since your article was written, and intelligence of which has reached us by telegraph, hardly stify your eulogy upon the firmness of action of

he Free-Soilers per se.

To accept of a promise made under such circumstances as was that of Mr. Brown, with the Speaker's chair almost within his clutches, while the whole action of his public life, down to the very moment of his making it, had been of the most objectionable character, directly counter to he spirit of that promise, and also one of the firmest and most ultra and unscrupulous supporters of Polk's Administration-the most Southern of any we have ever had-to be thus easily, I say, satisfied, excites in my mind the fear, that this great principle might be committed to the keeping of more discreet minds. BOSTON.

December 14, 1849. We fear that the "ancient party predilections" our unknown correspondent have led him to nisapprehend our remarks. Certainly it was our fixed purpose to be impartial, and we believe that we were. The article to which "Boston" refers. contains no denunciations of Messrs. Crowell, Campbell, or Howe, nor does it eulogize Messrs. Cleveland or Booth. It simply states facts, which

the record shows to be true. Mr. Mann voted for Mr. Winthrop from the eginning, but we never blamed Messrs. Crowell and Campbell for giving their suffrages to him. So long as they did this, they occupied precisely the same position as Whigs, that Messrs. Cleve-

land and Booth occupied as Democrats. But Messrs. Crowell and Campbell gave up Mr. Mann, and their indpendent positions, and voted afterwards for Mr. Winthrop, thus recognising the caucus candidate of the Taylor party We stated this fact without any denunciation ; but we could not make a similar statement in relation to Messrs. Cleveland, Doty, Booth, and Peck, for the simple reason, that they had never Mr. Cobb, the caucus candidate of the Democratic

As to Mr. Howe, he identified himself at first with the Free Soil Men, and voted with them against Mr. Winthrop. After a while he left lor caucus. We censured this step, because it power. It might recommend it, but is it certain the rest of the Free Soil Men, and encourage in t could even do that? Which of the delegates the old parties the hope that they would at last all give way. We could not thus censure the four tucky, Missouri, Louisiana, or Tennessee, would Free Soil Democrats above mentioned, for they be induced to support Mr. Cobb.

It is true that Messrs. Cleveland, Booth, Doty, and Peck veted for men who voted for Cobb, but so did the Free Soil members vote at one time for Mr. Strong, though he had supported Mr. Cobb, and at another time for Mr. Stevens, though he mark, that Mr. Disney is not "an avowed opponent of the Wilmot Proviso," but he is a professed

the Wilmot Proviso, but their plea was that their to penetrate. It seemed to act independently, in- against it. This point reached, in how many | Concerning the Brown affair, we have already

Thanks to Messrs. Hale and Chase, this abon- question of the amendment of their Constitutions that the slaveholders are in the habit of exacting times, no one will doubt, in view of the disclosures lately elicited.

MEMBERS OF THE THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

(Hannibal Hamlin

SENATORS.

	Maine · · -	-	Hannibal Hamiin -
	Maine		James W. Bradbury - Moses Norris, Jun
-	New Hampshire		
	New Hampshire		JOHN P. HALE
	37		William Upham
	Vermont		S. S. Phelps
	Af		Daniel Webster
	Massachusetts -		John Davis
ų	n		Albert C. Greene
	Rhode Island -	-	John H. Clarke
	Co. Market S. C.		Truman Smith
	Connecticut -		R. S. Baldwin
			William H. Seward .
l.	New York	-	Daniel S. Dickinson -
	0)570 Jan A		William L. Dayton -
	New Jersey -		Jacob W. Miller
)	Delaware		
f.			Presley Spruance
	Pennsylvania -		James Cooper
)			Daniel Sturgeon
,	Maryland		Stewart
•	Man James		James A. Pearce
f	Winsinia		J. M. Mason
	Virginia		R. M. T. Hunter
3	**		George E. Badger
k	North Carolina	-	W D M
ı			W. P. Mangum
•	South Carolina	-	A. P. Butler
•			J. C. Calhoun
1	Georgia		J. C. Calhoun W. C. Dawson
	Croorgia		J. M. Berrien
	Alabama		Benjamin Fitzpatrick
t	Alabama	-	William R. King
3	*** * * *		Jefferson Davis
	Mississippi	-	H. S. Foote
			Pierre Soulé
t	Louisiana	- }	e W Downs
7			S. W. Downs H. L. Turney
	Tennessee	-)	H. L. Turney
•		- (John Bell
	Kentucky	. 5	Henry Clay
	arear mony	1	J. R. Underwood
	Misseuri	- 1	J. R. Underwood T. H. Benton
	Misseull	-1	David R. Atchison -
	011	i	SALMON P. CHASE -
	Ohio	-3	Thomas Corwin
		(Jesse D. Bright
	Indiana	- }	James Whitcomb
		(
	Illinois	-)	James Shields
1			S. A. Douglas
1	Michigan	- 5	Lewis Cass
	Michigan -	1	Alpheus Felch
	Arkansas	1	Solon Borland
1	Arkansas	-1	W. K. Sebastian
1	F11 11	ì	D. L. Yulee
-	Florida	-3	Jackson Morton
-		-	T. J. Rusk
1	Texas	- }	
1		3	S. Houston
1	Wisconsin	- 1	Isaac P Walker
1		1	Henry Dodge
1	Iowa	- 5	George W. Jones
1	Auna	1	Augustus C. Dodge -
1	RECAPITULATIO	N.	-Democrats (in Roman)
1			25; Free-Soilers (in
1		3)	20; Free-Sollers (In
	Capitals) 2.		
-1			

Geo. W. Julian Ia. w
D. S. Kaufman, Texas
John B. Kerr, Md.
Daniel P. King, Mass.
George G. King, R. I.
John A. King, N. Y.
Preston King, N. Y.
Thomas B. King, Ga.
Emile La Sere, La.
Shepherd I effer, Iowa.
Lewis C. Levin, Fa.
N. S. Littlefield, Me.
Horace Mann, Mass.
Job Mann, Pa.

James McDowell, Va.
E. D. McGaughey, Ia.
Thos. McKisseck, N. Y.
J.X. McLanahan, Pa.
Robert M. McLane, Md.
Finis E. McLean, Ky.
Favette McMullen, Va.
John McQueen, S. C.
William McWillie, Miss.
Lynes Meachay, Vt.

James Meacham, Vt. Richard K. Meade, Va. John K. Miller, O.

John S. Millson, Va. Henry D. Moore, Pa. Chas. S. Morehead, Ky. Jonathan D. Morris, O. Isaac E. Morse, La. Jeremiah Morton, Va. William Nelson, N. Y. Henry Nes. Pa.

Thomas Ross, Pa.
Thos. Rumsev, Jr., N. Y
Wm. A. Sackett, N. Y.
John A. Savage, Tenn.
Cullen Sawtelle, Me.
Robert C. Schenck, O.
A. M. Schermerb.rn. N. Y.
J. L. Schoolcraft, N. Y.

J. L. Schoolcraft, N. Y. James A. Sedd-n Va. A. H. Shepperd, N. C. Peter H. Sylvester, N. J. G. Spadding, N. Y. Wm. Spr-gue, Mich. Edward Stanly, N. C. F. P. Stanton, Tenn. Richard P. Stanton, M. A. H. Steuhens, Ga.

A. H. Stephens, Ga.
Thaddeus Stevens, Pa.
Charles Stetson, Me.
William Strong, Pa.
Charles Sweetver, O.

J. B. Thompson, Ky. Wm. Thompson, Iow John R. Thurman. N. Robert Toombs, Ga. Amos Tuck, N. H. Walter Underhill, N. John Van Dyke, N. J. A. W. Venable, N. C. Samuel F. Vinton, O. Hiram Walden, N. Y. Loren P. Waldo, Ct. Daniel Wallace, S. C. A. G. Watkins, Tem M. J. Welborn, Ga. Laba, Wentworth III.

George A. Caldwell, Ky. I. P. Caldwell, N. C.

J. P. Caldwell, N. C. Samuel Calvin, Pa. L. D. Campbell, O. David K. Carter, O. Joseph Casey. Ps. J. R. Chandler, Pa. Charles E. Clark, N. Y.

Drsamus Cole, Wis

Andrew K. Hay, N. J. Thos. S. Haymond, Va. William H. bard. Vt. William Heary, Vt. Harry Hibbard, N. H. H. W. Hilliard, Ala. Moses Hoogland, O. Alex. R. Holliday, Va.

REPRESENTATIVES.

1855

1855

1853

1855

theatrical display, as if there was any actual dan-ger of the dissolution of the republic, they would look with calm indifference upon the transactions of this hour. They would derive new confidence in the stability of the Union from this effort to clamatory threats of the gentleman from Georcentre of this Hall, each with uplifted handsclap-

some of my early readings.

It is related that when the poet and essayist. Oliver Goldsmith, was about to exhibit one of his earliest comedies upon the English stage, the stage-manager protested that it was a poor play, and his literary friends thought its success quite hazardous. But in compassion to the poverty of Goldsmith, and to furnish him with a little capi-

will receive due consideration, and, should not the welfare of the whole country forbid, the two disaffected States will be released, by general consent, from the Confederacy. will cherish the hope, springing from the associ ations of other times, that wiser and more patriotic desires and purposes will control the unreflecting impulse which leads to disunion and anarchy.

I should not have entered into this debate, but for language which has fallen from the lips of member from South Carolina. He denounced the correspondence between the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Wilmot] and the gentleman dignantly assailed the member from Indiana yes-terday, for his correspondence with the gentle-

pledges. [For this colloquy, and the written pledges re

Jasac E. Holmes, S. C. John W. Houston, Del. V. E. Howard, Texas. John W. Howe, Pa. David Hubbard, Ala. William F. Hunter, O. Samuel W. Inge, Ala. Wm. T. Jackson, N. Y. Andrew Johnson, Tenn. James I. Lobrech W. M. J. Welborn, Gs. John Wentworth, III, Hugh White, N. Y. Wm. A. Whitelesey, O. Isaac Wildrick, N. J. C. H. Williams, Tenn. David Wilmof, Pa. D. F James Wilson, N. H. Robt. C. Winthrop, Mass. Amos E. Wood, O. Jos. A. Woodward, S. C. James L. Johnson, Ark. R. W. Johnson, Ark. D. Jos. A. Wood, O. Jos. A. Woodward, S. C. Timothy R. Young, Ill. erred to, see Era of last week] CINCINNATI CORRESPONDENCE.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 20, 1849. To the Editor of the National Era: Before the receipt of this, you will have learned doubt not, with equal surprise and sorrow, of the appointment of the Committees on the Territories and the District of Columbia. The answer the death of the Rev. James H. Perkins, of this the death of the Rev. James H. Perkins, of this city. It is seldom that an event occurs so well calculated to cast a general gloom over the minds itation by all candidates for the chair. He should thrust her out? California, as a State, interdicts given up their independent position and voted for of an intelligent and sympathizing community, as the sudden and untimely death of this good man. The circumstances are as follow:

Mr. Perkins had suffered for some five or six him from all inquiry, while yet a candidate, in years, and often intensely, from palpitation of the heart-being frequently unfitted by this distressing affection for the discharge of his duties in the pulpit. At one time he was compelled to give pulpit. At one time he was compelled to give entertaining similar opinions with Mr. Palfrey, up the pastoral charge of his church on this actual that has been subject to a rush of blood my colleague to the chair. And, what was the concount. He has been subject to a rush of blood to the head; and this, combined with dyspeptic symptoms, to which he was also subject, produced at times, deep melancholy. One day last week, a had never identified themselves with the Free severe affection of the heart was brought on by Soil men proper in Congress, nor could they ever the agitation he suffered in consequence of the supposed loss of two of his children.

Not finding them in the city, after some search the public crier was employed, with no better occess. The search was abandoned, and, in despair, and fatigued, Mr. P. walked home to his residence on Walnut Hills, a distance of nearly preceded him. When he reached his residence, (about 1 P. M.) he was exhausted; but after lying down for a time, arose and dined. He could not, however, overcome the excitement into which he had been thrown; was restless and nervous to plained that the committees of the last House he had been thrown ; was restless and nervous to a degree never known before; and, continuing so until about five o'clock, told his wife that he would take a walk, to calm his nerves, but would not be gone long. He went out, but did not re-turn, and nothing was seen of him afterwards by his family or friends.

About six o'clock the same evening, a person came upon the ferry-boat, crossing to Jamestown, about three miles above the city, just as she was starting on her last trip to the Kentucky shore starting on her last trip to the Kentucky shore. In a few minutes it was ascertained by the man receiving the ferriage, that he had gone, and his overcoat, wrapper, vest, cap, and spectacles, were found near the wheel-house, all of which, as well as a memorandum book, were the next day identified, as belonging to Mr. Perkins.

It is supposed by those well acquainted with his peculiar mental constitution and his physical sufferings, that the walk, instead of alloying his excitement, still further increased it, till reason was temporarily dethroned. In a wandering mood, not knowing whither he went mood, not knowing whither he went, he reached the ferry, (more than a mile from his house.) and, in an excitement of the brain, made more intense by the warm air in the cabin of the boat, threw 1853 himself into the stream.

No one, who knew him, can believe that he

would have done such an act deliberately, in the full possession of his faculties. Mr. P., in the common affairs of life, was a man of a sensible, well-balanced mind. He was eminently practical—devoting his time, energy, and means, to the relief of the poor and suffering of every class. He was President of the City Relief Union, of which he was the main originator—an institution which he was the main originator—an institution which has for some time been doing more than any other for the poor. For some days before is decease, his mornings were spent in its room in listening to the tales of the suffering, and giving orders for their relief. His comprehensive plans for the diminution of suffering and crime his increasing charities, his fine social qualities his mental endowments—indeed, his whole char acter, was such as to endear him to all who knew him, either personally or by reputation. As the Cincinnati Gazette well remarks—"If any knew him except to love him, or named him but to praise, they are of those who are themselves unknown and unloved. It is not transcending the truth to say, that not one of the hundred thousand souls comprising our population, could have been taken away, who would have been so generally missed, or so deeply mourned."

missed, or so deeply mourned."

Mr. Perkins was an Unitarian; but, it is well known, differed with that sect on a number of points in theology, so much so as to be unacceptable in his ministrations to many of them. He was generally considered as occupying a middle place between his Church and the "Orthodox." He was a warm friend of the cause of Freedom and was known to your readers by his Tales, published during the present year, in the Era. Only two days before his decease, he made an agreement with the writer of this, to furnish a new series of articles, beginning with the new volume, for your paper. How are his expectations and ours blasted! Yours, P.

REMARKS OF MR. ALLEN, OF MASS., HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DEC. 13, 1849.

Mr. Allen said: My constituents will think

we are giving too much importance to the scene which has just been exhibited. Instead of the soothing language with which I regret that some of our friends have addressed the actors in this alarm their fears. Whenever men undertake in earnest the great and hazardous work of subverting established government, instead of flashy ora-tory and the machinery of concerted applause, there is heard the language of calm determina-tion—and the countenance, thoughtful and selemn in its expression, bears testimony to the high resolve which animates the breast. I must be permitted to say, that when I heard the loud and degia to scatter into fragments this Union of thirty States, and saw the simultaneous gathering, as at some signal, of so many Southern members in the ping at every extravagant sally of the vociferous orator, I was reminded of an exhibition somewhat similar, a description of which I have met with in

tal for "home consumption," the latter agreed to take seats in conspicuous positions of the house, and carry the comedy triumphantly through by extent the scene at Covent Garden is paralleled by this exhibition in one of the Halls of Con gress, I will not undertake at this remote day to determine. In their results there will be a remarkable coincidence. For history has recorded of one, as I think it will record of the other, that the performance was ruised by the obstreperous applause that was to insure its success. What ever sensation of surprise or indignation may be awakened as intelligence of this morning's pro-ceedings shall go forth to the country, I feel assured, that elsewhere, as here, the sense of the ludicrous will predominate over every other emotion. Gentlemen talk of subverting this might remove one of the marble columns which support this Hall. Should the people of Georgia and South Carolina so far entertain the avowed sentiments of some of their Representatives on this ioor, as to desire to secede from a Union which with them or without them shall endure it be hooves those States to come before Congress with their respectful memorials. Without doubt they

from Indiana [Mr. Brown] as disgraceful to the Free-Soil party. I am a Free Soil member of this House, and I ask if the opponents only of the Ordinance of '87 have a right to interrogate candidates about their opinions upon the Slavery question? That gentleman knows, and the House knows, that when he and his friends inman from Pennsylvania, it was asserted by hall a dozen Southern members, that to each the gen-tleman from Indiana had, in some form, pledged himself to Southern interests on the Slavery question. And if there is any difference in character between verbal and written pledges, I will add that written pledges also were demanded from that quarter of the Union. [There was a general denial among gentlemen that written pledges were called for. "Written pledges?"] Yes, written pledges. Ask the gentleman from Alabama, [Mr. Hubbard,] whether he exacted any written

Mr. Allen proceeded: The ancient and respect-able organ of the Administration in this city has republished this morning a correspondence which ook place two years since between the presiding officer of this House in the last Congress and late member from Massachusetts, [Mr. Palfrey,]-in which the former, then a caudidate for the chair, refused to disclose his purposes respecting be taken upon trust, in ignorance of his opinions Such is the argument derived from that correspondence. I know not what immunities are thrown round the Speaker of this House which protect interest. The member who addressed him [Mr Palfrey] was not satisfied with his silence, and refused to give him his vote. Other members, sequence? The Committee on the Territorics withheld all action for the restriction of slavery until it was peremptorily ordered by the House forthwith to report a bill enforcing such restrict tion; and the Committee on the District of Co-lumbia refused, during the whole session of Con-gress, to report a bill for the abolition of the slave trade in the capital of the nation. At the second session of the same Congress, the Chair reappoint ed the same committee; and to the end of the 30th Congress there was the same neglect to initiate measures for the abolition of that nefarious traffic. And yet, while that committee folded its arms in inaction, there were exhibited, full in its four miles, where he found his children, who had preceded him. When he reached his residence, ears of the nation to tingle, and its heart to grow sick.

A gentleman from the Democratic side of the plained that the committees of the last House consisted of six members friendly to the political party of the late Speaker, and three of opposite politics. I take his facts, but use them for other purposes than his. And I ask whether in any instance, unless the Committee on this District presents an exception, the committees appointed

tical friends? [Mr. Winthrop explained by saying that it was 1 tical friends? [Mr. Winthrop explained by saying that it was the usage to constitute the Committees of Ways and Means and of Foreign Affairs, of six of one party and three of the other, for the purpose of insuring action on Executive measures, while the other Committees are divided, five to four.]

Then, sir, I am to understand that it is the usage to appoint the Executive Committees, as they are sometimes called, for action, and the Committee on the District of Columbia to prevent

From the remarks which have fallen from me. which I have reluctantly referred to the action of the last Congress, I trust no one will for a moment suppose that I harbor any unfriendly moment suppose that I narbor any unfriendly feeling towards my colleague. Representing, as he does, in part, the State of Massachusetts, I would gladly give him my vote for the Chair of this House, did not my views of the duties of that Chair differ from his own. But with the light of the experience of the past, and in view of the importance of the Committees on the Tar of the importance of the Committees on the Territories and the District of Columbia, I must have some assurance, from the expression at some time of the opinions of the candidate, regarding the continuance of the slave trade in this District, as well as the extension of slavery into the ories, before I can be justified in giving him my vote. I think there should be no disguise or concealment on these vital questions. And propose, with leave of the House, publicly on this floor, to interrogate on these matters candidate

who may be presented for the Chair.

One word to the friends of the Ordinance of 1787, and to its application to the free Territories of the United States. The cry of Disunion has been raised in advance. If the Legislature of the country shall prevent the extension of slavery into these Territories, the Government is to be overthrown. How is it to be done? The adto be overthrown. How is it to be done? The advocates for the unlimited period of slavery say "they will teach you." Teach them a lesson which shall protect this House from such threats hereafter; which shall save, not the Union, which is safe, but the country from all such scenes as we have witnessed this day.

For the purpose of showing to the world that

you justly appreciate the speeches to which we have listened with so much pain, come together, for once, if you must again part, and elect a Speaker known to be in favor of the restriction of Speaker known to be in ravor of the restriction of slavery. Why should you not do it? You are divided into parties, called Whig and Democratic. It is an artificial division at the present day, not founded on any distinctive principle. I defy any man, on either side of this House, to tell me of what subject you are divided, according to your party names—be it tariff, bank, sub-treasury, in-ternal improvements, or anything else. Let any man trace, if he can, the line of demarkation, or either side of which the two parties may be ranged But there is a principle which divides the whole House into two, and but two parties. Act upon that principle, and an organization may be at once effected, which shall give security to freedom, establish the prosperity of the nation, and advance the cause of justice and humanity.

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS-FIRST SESSION. FRIDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1849. SENATE. The Vice President, authority being given by the Senate, appointed Mr. Chase to fill the vacancy in the Committee on Revolutionary Claims. occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Norris. The Committee on Printing was authorized to employ a clerk, at the usual per diem compensation. The Senate then adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. The House transacted no business to-day. About an hour was consumed in motions de signed to while away the time, and at one o'clock

the House adjourned. Committees of Conference having been appointed by the Whig and Democratic caucuses, the Whigs and Democrats in the House were indisposed to do anything till after their report.]

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1849. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Mr. Stanton of Tennessee rose to submit a propwith remarks, he was called to order by Mr. son, James Thompson, William Thompson, Root. In the confusion that ensued Mr. Toombs, Tuck, Venable, Walden, Waldo, Walof Georgia got the floor, but yielded it for a moment, when Mr. Inge of Alabama moved that the resolution prohibiting debate be rescinded. Mr. Toombs then took the floor and announced his purpose to debate the resolution, and show reasons why it should be rescinded. The scene that followed was indescribable. Mr. Root, who had been put down the day before, under the rule, loudly called to order. He agreed with the gentleman from Georgia, in opposition to the rule, but while it was in existence, let all be treated alike. Mr. Toombs persisted in holding the floor, denouncing all attempts to call him to order, as disorderly. Where was their rule he cried, for calling him to order? No rules had yet been adopted. While he retained the floor, no member had a right to call him to order.

The whole House was now in utter disorder Some cried one thing, some another. One moved that the gentleman from Georgia have leave to proceed by general consent; another moved an adjournment; others called for the roll; others shouted order, order; members rose from their seats and crowded the aisles, talking, debating, laughing. Mr. Toombs meanwhile held on his way, denouncing the House for its tyranny and ed into between the two parties, and had arrived at that point where, in fulfilment of the agreement entered in the two parties, and had arrived at that point where, in fulfilment of the agreement entered in the two parties, and had arrived at that point where, in fulfilment of the agreement entered in the point where, in fulfilment of the agreement entered in the point where, in fulfilment of the agreement entered in the point where, in fulfilment of the agreement entered in the point where it is a specific property of the point where it is a specific property of the point where it is a specific property of the point where it is a specific property of the point where it is a specific property of the point where it is a specific property of the point where it is a specific property of the point where it is a specific property of the point where it is a specific property of the property of disorder. "What is the question?" cried somebody. "On the motion of the gentleman from Alabama to rescind the resolution," replied the for the last time, Mr. Venable, one of the tellers, Clerk. "Go it, Toombs! Call the roll! Order! checked the votes and announced in a distinct and Order!" were the confused exclamations heard Order!" were the confused exclamations heard on every side. Amidst the "confusion worse confounded," the Clerk proceeded to call the roll, and Mr. Toombs proceeded with his speech, and the members proceeded with their discordant vote for Howell Cobt." cries. At last the speaker completed his argument and sat down, the members got tired of making a noise, and in the lull, the call of the sonal conversations, and from a knowledge of the roll was completed. The result was a refusal of qualifications of the two gentlemen, he inclined the House to rescind the resolution. Mr. F. P. Stanton called for the reading of his

proposition; which was read, as follows: Resolved, That the House will proceed immediately to the election of a Speaker, viva voce; and if, after the vote shall have been called three times, no member shall have received a majority of the whole number of votes, the roll shall again called, and the member who shall then receive the largest number of votes, provided it be a majority of a quorum, shall be declared to be chosen

Several motions were now made-one to adourn till Wednesday, another to adjourn till tomorrow; but at last, Mr. Stanton having obtained the floor, moved the adoption of his resolution. Mr. Meade of Virginia offered the following amendment:

Resolved, That after the vote has been taken for Speaker next after the adoption of this resolution, the House shall proceed to vote between the four members receiving the greatest number of votes; and if neither receive a majority, the House shall then vote between the three members receiving the largest vote; and if no choice be made, the House shall cheesest. House shall choose the Speaker from the two members who shall have last received the greatt number of votes; and no votes shall be count ed that are not given to one or other of the per-sons thus designated; and the same rule shall apply in the election of the other officers of the

A motion was made to lay both the original resolution and substitute upon the table, but it failed-yeas 94, nays 124-the Whigs generally,

by the Chair did not report in conformity with the sentiments entertained by the Chair and its pothe minority are not permitted to discuss the propriety or constitutionality of such a change, wil priety or constitutionality of such a change, will be oppressive in its operation, of dangerous ten-dency, and ought not to be adopted.

Mr. Stanton raised a point of order-the Clerk submitted it to the House—the yeas and nays were called for on the point of order, but the House refused to order them by a vote of nays 146, yeas 30.

A motion to adjourn failed.

The Clerk stated the question to be original proposition of Mr. Stanton. [This was a mistake. The question was upon

the point of order raised by Mr. Stanton, on which the House simply refused the yeas and nays. If that had been sustained, then the question would have been on Mr. Stanton's proposition. If it had not been sustained, the question would have been on the resolution of Mr. Giddings.]

The yeas and nays having been ordered, set eral members answered to their names, when Mr. Holmes rose, and, amidst loud cries of order, protested against the proceedings, as entirely out of order. No vote had yet been taken on the proposition of the gentleman from Ohio.

The Clerk said that the proposition had been lecided out of order. Mr. Holmes denied it, and declared that, if gentlemen chose to violate the rights of a member, he would stand up for that nember, even though it was Mr. Giddings. There was great laughter, with cries of order! order! Here a lively conversation took place between several members, during which the Clerk proceeded with the roll; but he was again interrupted by Mr. Holmes, who declared that he would not give up a principle, even though Mr. Giddings would. Here was great laughter. The Clerk proceeding with the call, Mr. Holmes cried

out to Mr. Giddings, "Do you give it up?" [Roars of laughter.] "No," said Mr. G., "but the Clerk has entered it upon the Journal as be ing rejected.

The call of the roll was then completed, and Mr. Stanton's proposition for making a Speaker by plurality, after three more votes, was adopted,

Yeas—Messrs. Alexander, Alston, Anderson, Ashmun, Baker, Bennett, Bingham, Bokee, Bowie, Breck, Briggs, William J. Brown, Burrows, Chester Butler, Thomas B. Butler, G. A. Caldwell, J. P. Caldwell, Calvin, Casey, Chandler, Clark, Conger, Conrad, Corwin, Crowell, Deberry, Dickey, Dixon, Doty, Duer, Duncan Dunham, Alexander Evans, Nathan Evans, Ewing, Fowler, Freedley, Fuller, Gerry, Gilmore Goodenow, Gott, Gould, Grinnell, Hall, Hallo way, Hamilton, Hammond, Hampton, Hay, Hayway, Hamilton, Hammond, Hampton, Hay, Hay-mond, Hebard, Henry, Hibbard, Houston, Jack-son, Andrew Johnson, James L. Johnson, Kerr, Daniel P. King, George G. King, James G. King, John A. King, Leffler, Littlefield, Horace Mann, Job Mann, Marshall, Matteson, McKissock, McLean, Meacham, Moore, Morse, Nes, Newell, Ogle, Otis, Peaslee, Phœnix, Pitman Putnam Reynolds, Risley, Rockwell, Rose, Rumsey, Sack ett, Savage, Sawtelle, Schenck, Schermerhorn Schoolcraft, Shepperd, Silvester, Spalding Schoolcraft, Shepperd, Silvester, Spalding, Sprague, Stanly, Fred. P. Stanton, Richard H. Stanton, Stevens, Stetson, Taylor, John B. Thompson, Thurman, Underhill, Van Dyke, Vinton, Watkins, White, Williams, Wilson, and Win-

tnrop-113.
NAYS-Messrs. Albertson, Allen, Ashe, Averett, Bay, Bayly, Beale, Bissell, Bocock, Booth Bowdon, Bowlin, Boyd, Albert G. Brown, Bue Burt, Cabell, Cable, Campbell, Carter, Cleveland, Clingman, Howell Cobb, Williamson R. W Cobb, Colcock, Cole, Daniel, Dimmick, Disney, Durkee, Edmundson, Featherston, Fitch, Giddings, Gorman, Green, Hackett, Haralson, Har-Harris, Thomas L. Harris, Halliard, Holliday, Holmes, Howard, Howe, Hubbard, Hunter, Inge, Robert W. Johnson, Jones, Julian, Kaufman, Preston King, La Sère, Mason, McClernand, Mc-Preston King, La Sere, Mason, McClernand, McDowell, McGaughey, McLanahan, McLane, McMullen, McQueen, McWillie, Mead, Miller, Millson, Morchead, Morris, Morton, Olds, Orr, Outlaw, Owen, Parker, Peck, Potter, Powell, Mr. Stanton of Tennessee rose to submit a prop-osition to the House, but, attempting to preface it phens, Strong, Sweetzer, Thomas, Jacob Thomp-

lace, Welborn, Wentworth, Whittlesey, Wildrick, Wilmot, Woodward, Wood, and Young-106. Mr. Stanly rose and withdrew his name as a candidate. Mr. McClernand did the same. The roll was ther called for the 60th dese, with the following result:

For Mr. H. Cobb - 95 For Mr. Potter -McGaughey - -Boyd - - -Bowie - - -Winthrop - - 90 Wilmot - - 9 Wilmot Morehead - -Durkee - - -Strong - - - 4 Cabell - - - 4 There being no choice, the roll was called

again, and again. On the 62d trial, it stood-Howell Cobb, of Georgia, received - 97 David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania William Strong, of Pennsylvania -Charles S. Morehead of Kentucky E. D. Potter, of Ohio - -Linn Boyd, of Kentucky - - E. Carrington Cabell, of Florida -

C. Durkee, of Wisconsin -A. H. Stephens, of Georgia -The House had now reached the contingence contemplated in the proposition of Mr. Stanton. It had exhausted the three votings therein provi-ded for, without a result, and had arrived at that

be elected by a plurality vote.

The most intense interest was manifested in every part of the Hall; and as the roll was called Mr. Winthrop or Mr. Cobb, the aggregate number of votes which either had received.

When the name of Mr. J. Cable was called,

When the name of Mr. Harlan was called. Mr. H. rose and was understood to say, that, from conversations he had heard on this floor, from per-

to the belief that, as it was now reduced to a certainty that one of the two would be elected, it would be safe for him to cast his vote for Howell Cobb. He therefore did so.

When the roll was completed, the Tellers reported that the whole number of votes given in

was 222; of which— Howell Cobb. of Georgia, had received -Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania -Charles S. Morehead, of Kentucky William Strong, of Pennsylvania Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, William F. Colcock, of South Carolina Charles Durkee, of Wisconsin -Emery D. Potter, of Ohio -Lian Boyd, of Kentucky -

The following is the vote in detail : For Howell Cobb .- Messrs. Albertson, For Howell Cobb.—Messrs. Albertson, Ashe, Averett, Bay, Bayly, Beale, Bingham, Bissell, Bocock, Bowdon, Bowlin, Boyd, Albert G. Brown, William J. Brown, Buel, Burt, J. Cable, George A. Caldwell, Carter, Williamson R. W. Cobb, Colcock, Daniel, Dimmick, Disney, Dunham, Edmundson, Ewing, Featherston, Fitch, Fuller, Gerry, Gilmore, Gorman, Green, Hackett, Hall, Hamilton, Hammond, Haralson, Harlan, Harmanson, HG Harris S. W. Harris T. I. Harwis Hibbard ilton, Hamuond, Haralson, Harlan, Harmanson, Il G. Harris, S. W. Harris, T. L. Harris, Hibbard, Hoagland, Holliday, Howard, Hubbard, Inge, A. Johnson, R. W. Johnson, Jones, Kaufman, La Sere, Leffler, Littlefield, Job Mann, Mason, McClernand, McDonald, McDowell, McLanahan, Robt. M. McLane, McMullen, McQueen, Mo-Willie, Meade, Miller, Millson, Morris, Morse, Oids, Orr, Parker. Peaslee, Potter, Powell, Rich-ardson, Robbinson, Ross, Sawage, Saw-telle, Frederick P. Stanton, Richard H. Stanton,

resolution and substitute upon the table, but it failed—yeas 94, nays 124—the Whigs generally, and some of the Democratic members, voting against laying upon the table—the Free Soil members, the Free Soil Democrats, and some of the State Rights men of the South, voting to lay on the table.

Mr. Kaufman of Texas then offered an amendment, or substitute, which was laid upon the table—yeas 51, nays 168.

The question was then taken on Mr. Meade's proposition, and it was rejected—yeas 12, nays 201.

The question then recurring on the original resolution offered by Mr. Stanton, Mr. Giddings sent the following to the Clerk's deak:

Whereas the election of Speaker of this body is one of the highest and most important duties incumbent upon its members; and whereas also by common consent of every House of Representatives since the adoption of our Constitution, and an encessary to a choice of that officer; and whereas are one of the safeguards of American liberty:

Therefore,

Resolved, That a change in such election so as

For A H. Stephens .- Mr. E. C. Cabell. Peck.
or William F. Colcock.—Mr. Holmes.

For William F. Colcock.—Mr. Holmes.
For Charles S. Morehead.—Messrs. Morton,
Owen, A. H. Stephens, and Toombs.
For Charles Durkee.—Mr. Wilmot. Emery D. Potter .- Mr. Wood. For Linn Boyd.—Mr. Woodward. When the names had been read by the Clerk,

a slight murmur of approbation, not amounting to a distinct expression, passed over parts of the Mr. Stanly moved the following resolution : Resolved, That the Hon. Howell Cobb, a Rep-

resentative from the State of Georgia, be, and he is hereby, declared duly elected Speaker of the House for the thirty-first Congress. This was intended to forestall all question the legality of the election on the plurality prin-

ciple.] The yeas and nays were ordered, on motion of Mr. Root; and those who voted in the negative were the following:

Messrs Allen, Andrews, Averett, Bayly, Burt E. C. Cabell, Campbell, Colcock, Crowell, Daniel, Durkee, Featherston, Giddings, Hilliard, Holli-day, Holmes, Howe, Hubbard, Hunter, Julian, Preston King, McGaughey, McQueen, Morton, Outlaw, Owen, Root, Alexander H. Stephens, Toombs, Tuck, Venable, Wallace, Wilmot, and

One hundred and forty-nine voted in the affir-The Speaker was then conducted to the Chair by Messrs. Winthrop and McDowell. After a

momentary pause, he rose and said: Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:
It would be useless to disguise the fact that feel deeply embarrassed in taking this chair under the circumstances attending my election. I am conscious of the difficulties by which this

osition is surrounded at the present time.

The peculiar organization of this body, as ex hibited in our proceedings since we first met-the nature and character of the various important and exciting questions of public policy which will engage our attention during the present session of Congress, conspire to render the duties of the office peculiarly embarrassing, onerous, and re-

I may be permitted, therefore, to ask in advance your generous aid and support in the effort I shall make firmly, faithfully, and impartially, to

lischarge its duties.

The country has been looking with anxiety to our efforts to effect an organization. The people will continue to regard with intense interest every step we take in our legislative course. Our duties will be laborious, our responsibilities great. Let us, then, in view of these considerations, invoke, in the discharge of these duties, a patriotism as broad as the Union, and as comprehensive as the nature and character of her various interests and institutions. Guided by this spirit, under the blessing of Heaven, our action will result in the continued prosperity of our common coun-

try.

Accept, gentlemen, my grateful acknowledgments for the honor you have conferred on me in selecting me as your presiding officer during the present Congress.

The Speaker now took the usual oath of office, which was administered by Mr. Linn Boyd, of Kentucky; after which, the House adjourned, after session of six hours.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate

Sixty years have elapsed since the establish ment of this Government, and the Congress o the United States again assembles to legislate for an empire of freemen. The predictions of evil prophets, who formerly pretended to foretell the downfall of our institutions, are now remembered only to be derided, and the United States of America at this moment present to the world the most stable and permanent Government on earth.

Such is the result of the labors of those who have gone before us. Upon Congress will eminently depend the future maintenance of our system of free government, and the transmiss

the destinies of nations, that we have been able to maintain, amidst all these contests, an independ-ent and neutral position towards all belligerent Powers.

Our relations with Great Britain are of the most friendly character. In consequence of the recent alteration of the British navigation acts, British vessels, from British and other foreign ports, will, (under our existing laws,) after the first day of January next, be admitted to entry in our ports, with cargoes of the growth, manufacture, or production of any part of the world, on the same terms, as to duties, imposts, and charges, as vessels of the United States, with their cargoes; and our vessels will be admitted to the same dvantages in British ports, entering therein on

benefit to both countries.

A slight interruption of diplomatic intercourse which occurred between this Government and France, I am happy to say, has been terminated, and our Minister there has been received. It is, therefore, unnecessary to refer now to the circumstances which led to that interruption. I need not express to you the sincere satisfaction with which we shall welcome the arrival of another Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipoten-tiary from a sister Republic, to which we have so long been, and still remain, bound by the strong-est ties of amity.

Shortly after I had entered upon the discharge

f the Executive duties, I was apprized that a war steamer belonging to the German Empire was being fitted out in the harbor of New York, with the aid of some of our naval officers, rendered under the permission of the late Secretary of the Navy. This permission was granted during an armistice between that Empire and the Kingdom of Denmark, which had been engaged in the Schleswig-Holstein war. Apprehensive that this act of intervention, on our part, might be viewed as a violation of our neutral obligations, incurred by the treaty with Denmark, and of the provis-ions of the act of Congress of the 20th of April, 1818, I directed that no further aid should be 1818, I directed that no further and should be rendered by any agent or officer of the Navy; and I instructed the Secretary of State to apprize accredited to this Government of my determination to exe-cute the law of the United States, and to maintain the faith of treaties with all nations. The correspondence which ensued between the Department of State and the Minister of the German Empire is herewith laid before you. The execument or state and the Minister of the German Empire is herewith laid before you. The execution of the law and the observance of the treaty were deemed by me to be due to the honor of the country, as well as to the sacred obligations of the Constitution. I shall not fail to pursue the same course, should a similar case arise, with any other nation. Having avowed the opinion, on taking the oath of office, that, in disputes between conflicting foreign Governments, it is our interest, not less than our duty, to remain strictly neutral, I shall not abandon it. You will perceive, from the correspondence submitted to you, in connection with this subject, that the course adopted in this case has been properly regarded by the belligerent Powers interested in the matter.

Although a Minister of the United States to the German Empire was appointed by my predecessor in August, 1848, and has for a long time been in attendance at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and although a Minister appointed to represent that Empire was received and accredited here, yet no such Government as that of the German Empire has been definitively constituted. Mr. Donelson, our representative at Frankfort, remained there several months, in the expectation that a union of the German States, under one constitution or

several months, in the expectation that a union of the German States, under one constitution or form of Government, might at length be organ-ized. It is believed, by those well acquainted with the existing relations between Prussia and the States of Germany, that no such union can be permanently established without her co-opera-tion. In the event of the formation of such a to foster and strengthen its relations with those with the existing relations between Prussia and that the spirit of amity between us the States of Germany, that no such union can be permanently established without her co-operation. In the event of the formation of such a union, and the organization of a central power in Germany, of which she should form a part, it would become necessary to withdraw our Minister at Berlin; but while Prussia exists as an independent kingdom, and diplomatic relations are maintained with her, there can be no necessity for the continuance of the misseon to Frankfort. I have therefore recalled Mr. Donelson, and directed the archives of the legation, at Frankfort, to be transferred to the American legation at Berlin. Having been apprized that a considerable number of the same course the same course the same course towards all other American Power, to which, as their natural ally and friend, they will always be disposed first to look for mediation and assistance, in the event of, any collision between us should be mutual and cordial.

I recommend the observance of the same course towards all other American Power, to which, as their natural ally and friend, they will always be disposed first to look for mediation and assistance, in the event of, any collision between the formation of such as should be mutual and cordial.

I recommend the observance of the same course the same course days of July, 1851, of ten millions five human intervent of July, 1851, of ten millions five human intervent of July, 1851, of ten millions five human intervent of July, 1851, of ten millions five human intervent of July, 1851, of ten millions five human intervent of July, 1851, of ten millions five human intervent of July, 1851, of ten millions five human intervent of July, 1851, of ten millions five human intervent of July, 1851, of ten millions five human intervent of July, 1851, of ten millions five human intervent of July, 1851, of ten millions five human intervent of July, 1851, of ten millions five h

While this expedition was in progress, I was informed that a foreigner, who claimed our protection, had been claudestinely, and, as it was supposed, forcibly, carried off in a vessel from New Orleans to the Island of Cuba. I immediately and the supposed of the supposed laws. The person alleged to have been abducted was promptly restored, and the circumstances of the case are now about to undergo investigation before a judicial tribunal. I would respectfully suggest that although the crime charged to have been committed in this case is held odious, as being in conflict with our opinions on the subject of national sovereignty and personal freedom, there is no prohibition of it, or punishment for it, provided in any act of Congress. The expediency of supplying this defect in our criminal code is therefore recommended to your consideration.

I have scrupulously avoided any interference in the wars and contentions which have recently distracted Europe.

distracted Europe.

During the late conflict between Acatria and Hungary, there seemed to be a prospect that the latter might become an independent nation. However faint that prospect at the time appeared, I thought it my duty, in accordance with the general sentiment of the American people, who deeply sympathized with the Magyar patriots, to stand prepared, upon the contingency of the establishment by her of a permanent Government, to be the first to welcome independent Hungary into the family of nations. For this purpose invested an agent, then in Europe, with power to declare our willingness promptly to recognise her independence in the event of her ability to sustain it. The powerful intervention of Russia in the contest extinguished the hopes of the strug-gling Magyars. The United States did not, at any time, interfere in the contest; but the feelings of the nation were strongly enlisted in the cause, and by the sufferings of a brave people, who had made a gallant though unsuccessful ef-

fort to be free.
Our claims upon Portugal have been, during the past year, prosecuted with renewed vigor, and it has been my object to employ every effort of honorable diplomacy to procure their adjustment. Our late Chargé d'Affaires at Lisbon, the Hon. George W. Hopkins, made able and energetic. but unsuccessful, efforts to settle these unpleasant matters of controversy, and to obtain indemnity matters of controversy, and to obtain indemnity for the wrongs which were the subjects of complaint. Our present Chargé d'Affaires at that Court will also bring to the prosecution of these claims ability and zeal. The revolutionary and distracted condition of Portugal in past times has been represented as one of the leading causes of her delay in indemnifying our suffering citizens. But I must now say it is matter of profound regret that these claims have not yet been settled. The omission of Portugal to do justice to the American claimants has now assumed a character so grave and serious that I shall shortly make it the subject of a special message to Congress, with a view to such ultimate action as its wisdom and

mark, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the Italian States, we still maintain our accustomed amicable

relations. During the recent revolutions in the Papal States, our Chargé d'Affaires at Rome has been unable to present his letter of credence, which, indeed, he was directed by my predecessor to tions of amity with them. During the past year we have been blessed, by a kind Providence, with an senting his credential letter different from those.

The routes acre

> Hidalgo, nothing has occurred of a serious character to disturb them. A faithful observance of the paper called a Protocol, signed at Queretaro, on a subject of correspondence between the Department of State and the Envoy Extraordinary and

within a short period after the time required by the treaty, and was there joined by the Commissioner on the part of Mexico. They entered upon their duties; and, at the date of the latest in-telligence from that quarter, some progress had been made in the survey. The expenses incident to the organization of the commission, and to its conveyance to the point where its operations were to begin, have so much reduced the fund appro-priated by Congress, that a further sum, to cover the charges which must be incurred during the present fiscal year, will be necessary. The great length of frontier along which the boundary extends, the nature of the adjacent territory, and the difficulty of obtaining supplies, except at or near the extremes of the line, render it also indispen-sable that a liberal provision should be made to meet the necessary charges during the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June, 1851. I accordingly end this subject to your attention.

In the adjustment of the claims of American citizens on Mexico, provided for by the late treaty, the employment of counsel, on the part of the Government, may become important for the purpose of assisting the Commissioners in protecting the interests of the United States. I recommend this subject to the early and favorable considera-

this subject to the early and favorable considera-tion of Congress.

Complaints have been made in regard to the inefficiency of the means provided by the Govern-ment of New Grenada for transporting to United States mail across the Isthmus of Panama, pursu-ant to our Postal Convention with that Republic, of the 6th of March, 1844. Our Chargé d'Affaires at Bogota has been directed to make such representations to the Government of New Grenada as

sentations to the Government or New Grenada as will, it is hoped, lead to a prompt removal of this cause of complaint.

The sanguinary civil war with which the Republic of Venezuela has for some time past been ravaged, has been brought to a close. In its progress the rights of some of our citizens, resident or trading there, have been violated. The restonation of the rest ration of order will afford to the Venezuelan Government an opportunity to examine and redress these grievances, and others of long standing, which our representatives at Caraccas have hith-

The extension of the coast of the United States on the Pacific, and the unexampled rapidity with which the inhabitants of California especially are increasing in numbers, have imparted new consequence to our relations with the other countries whose territories border upon that ocean. It is probable that the intercourse between those countries and our possessions in that quarter, particularly with the Republic of Chili, will become extensive and mutually advantageous in presenting

tries and our possessions in that quarter, particularly with the Republic of Chili, will become extensive and mutually advantageous in proportion as California and Oregon shall increase in population and wealth. It is desirable, therefore, that this Government should do everything in its power to foster and strengthen its relations with those States, and that the spirit of amity between us should be mutual and cordial.

I recommend the observance of the same course towards all other American States. The United States stand as the great American Power, to which, as their natural ally and friend, they will always be disposed first to look for mediation and assistance, in the event of any collision between them and any European nation. As such, we may often kindly mediate in their behalf, without entangling ourselves in foreign wars or unnecessary

ber of adventurers were engaged in fitting out a military expedition, within the United States, against a foreign country, and believing, from the best information I could obtain, that it was destined to invade the island of Cubs, I deemed it due to the friendly relations existing between the United States and States

to the friendly relations existing between the United States and Spain; to the treaty between the two nations; to the laws of the United States, and, above all, to the American honor, to exert the lawful authority of this Government in suppressing the expedition and preventing the invasion. To this end, I issued a proclamation, enjoining it upon the officers of the United States, edivil and military to use all lawful means within a very relations with it are founded upon the most amicable understauding. Your attention is earnestly invited to an amendment of our existing laws relating to the African slave trade, with a view to the effectual suppression of that barbarous traffic. It is not to be demanded to the control of the control joining it upon the officers of the United States, and civil and military, to use all lawful means within their power. A copy of that proclamation is herewith submitted. The expedition has been suppressed. So long as the act of Congress of the 20th of April, 1818, which owes its existence to the law of nations and to the policy of Washington himself, shall remain on our statute book, I hold it to be the duty of the Executive faithfully to obey its injunctions.

While this expedition was in progress, I was for a new register, proceed at once to the coast of Africa, for the purpose of obtaining cargoes of slaves. Much additional information, of the same supposed, forcibly, carried off in a vessel from New Orleans to the Island of Cuba. I immediately caused such steps to be taken as I thought necessary, in case the information I had received should prove correct, to vindicate the honor of the country, and the right of every person seeking the country and the right of every person seeking. country, and the right of every person seeking an asylum on our soil to the protection of our laws. The person alleged to have been abducted

be prevented.

Having ascertained that there is no prospect of the reunion of the tive States of Central America, which formerly composed the Republic of that name, we have separately negotiated with some of them treaties of amity and commerce, which will be laid before the Senate.

A contract having been concluded with the State of Nicaragua, by a company composed of

A contract having been concluded with the State of Nicaragua, by a company composed of American citizens, for the purpose of constructing a ship canal through the territory of that State, to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, I have directed the negotiation of a treaty with Nicara-gua, pledging both Governments to protect those who shall engage in and perfect the work. All other nations are invited by the State of Nicara-gua to enter into the same treaty stiplations with her; and the benefit to be derived by each from such an arrangement will be the protection of this great inter-oceanic communication against any Power which might seek to obstruct it, or to monopolize its advantages. All States entering into such a treaty will enjoy the right of passage through the canal on payment of the same tolls. The work, if constructed under these guaranties, will become a bond of peace instead of a subject of contention and strife between the nations of the earth. Should the great maritime States of Europe consent to this arrangement (and we have no reason to suppose that a proposition so fair and honorable will be opposed by any.) the energies of their people and ours will cooperate in promoting the success of the enterprise. I do not recommend any appropriation from the National Treasury for this purpose, nor do I believe that such an appropriation is necessary. Private enterprise, if properly protected, will complete the work, should it prove to be feasible. The parties who have procured the charter from Nicaragua, for its construction desire no assistance from this for its construction, desire no assistance from this Government beyond its protection; and they pro-fess that, having examined the proposed line of communication, they will be ready to commence the undertaking whenever that protection shall be extended to them. Should there appear to be reason, on examining the whole evidence, to en-tertain a serious doubt of the practicability of constructing such a canal, that doubt could be

speedily solved by an actual exploration of the oute.
Should such a work be constructed, under the common protection of all nations, for equal benefits to all, it would be neither just nor expedient that any great maritime State should command the communication. The territory through which the canal may be opened ought to be freed from the claims of any foreign Power. No such Power should occupy a position that would enable it herewithhold until he should receive further orders.

Such was the unsettled condition of things in it, unimpaired, to posterity.

We are at peace with all the nations of the world, and seek to maratain our cherished relations.

Withhold until he should receive further orders. Such was the unsettled condition of things in those States, that it was not deemed expedient to way which ought to be dedicated to the common

While enjoying the benefits of amicable intercourse with foreign nations, we have not been insensible to the distractions and wars which have
prevailed in other quarters of the world. It is a
proper theme of thanksgiving to Him who rules

With the Republic of Mexico, it is our true

With the Republic of Mexico, it is our true

With the Republic of Mexico, it is our true

With the Republic of Mexico, it is our true

With the Republic of Mexico, it is our true

With the Republic of Mexico, it is our true

That period Rome has undergone another revolution, and he abides the establishment of a Government sufficiently permanent to justify him in
opening diplomatic intercourse with it.

With the Republic of Mexico, it is our true which the Republic of Steady is a solution of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, nothing has occurred of a serious character to disturb them. A faithful observance of the guaranties of the maritime States of the world, in treaty, and a sincere respect for her rights, can- separate treaties negotiated with Mexico, binding | Indian intercourse over the new Territories. not fail to secure the lasting confidence and friendship of that Republic. The message of my prestruct the work. Such guaranties would do more decessor to the House of Representatives, of the Sth of February last, communicating, in compliance with a resolution of that body, a copy of a reasonable consideration that could be offered; and as Mexico herself would be the greatest gainer by the 30th of May, 1848, by the Commissioners of the United States and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Mexican Government, having been would not he sitate to yield her aid, in the manner proposed, to accomplish an improvement so important to her own best interests.

the same terms as British vessels. Should no order in council disturb this legislative arrangement, the late act of the British Parliament, by which Great Britain is brought within the terms proposed by the act of Congress of the 1st of March, 1817, it is hoped, will be productive of benefit to both countries.

A slight intergruption of diplomatic intercourse.

Ment of State and the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of that Republic accredited to this Government, a transcript of that correspondence is herewith submitted.

The Commissioner on the part of the United States for marking the boundary between the two Republics, though delayed in reaching San Diego by unforeseen obstacles, arrived at that place by unforeseen obstacles, arrived at that place within a short required by My Standard States for which guaranties the perfect neutrality of the 1sth-mus, and the rights of sovereignty and property of Nor Genade, ratified and exchanged by my predecessor on the 10th day of June, 1849. portant to her own best interests.

We have reason to hope that the proposed railroad across the 1sthmus at Panama will be successfully constructed, under the protection of the late New Grenada over that territory, "with a view that the free transit from ocean to ocean may not be interrupted or embarrassed" during the exist-ence of the treaty. It is our policy to encourage every practicable route across the lsthmus, which connects North and South America, either by by railroad or canal, which the energy and enterprise of our citizens may induce them to complete and I consider it obligatory upon me to adopt that policy, especially in consequence of the absolute necessity of facilitating intercourse with our pos-sessions on the Pacific.

The position of the Sandwich Islands, with refrence to the territory of the United States on the Pacific; the success of our persevering and benev-olent citizens who have repaired to that remote quarter in christianizing the natives and inducing hem to adopt a system of government and laws suited to their capacity and wants; and the use nade by our numerous whale ships of the harbors f the islands as places of resort for obtaining refreshments and repairs, all combine to render their destiny peculiarly interesting to us. It is our duty hould make reasonable allowances for the diffi-

(345,830,097 50,) and in Treasury notes funded, ten millions eight hundred and thirty-three thou-sand dollars, (\$10,833,000.) making an aggregate of fifty-nine millions six hundred and sixty-three, thousand ninety-seven dollars and fifty cents, which our representatives at Caraccas have hither to ineffectually urged upon the attention of that Government.

The extension of the coast of the United States on the Pacific, and the unexampled rapidity with which the inhabitants of California especially are increasing in numbers, have imparted new coase. dollars, (\$10,833,000,) making an aggregate of fifty-seven millions six hundred and thirty-one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven dollars and

thousand six hundred and sixty-seven donars and eight-two cents, (\$57,631,667 \$2)

The accounts and estimates, which will be submitted to Congress in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, show that there will probably be a deficit, occasioned by the expenses of the Mexican war and treaty, on the first day of July next, of five millions eight hundred and twenty-eight thousand one hundred and twenty-one dollars and sixty-six cents. (\$58,828,121,66) and on the

the public money.

I recommend a revison of the existing tariff, and its adjustment on a basis which may augment the revenue. I do not doubt the right or duty of Conrevenue. revenue. I do not doubt the right or duty of Congress to encourage domestic industry, which is the great source of national as well as individual wealth and prosperity. I look to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress for the adoption of a system which may place home labor at last on a sure and permanent footing, and, by due encouragement of manufactures, give a new and increased stimulus to agriculture, and promote the development of our vast resources, and the extension of our cemmerce. Believing that to the attainment of these ends (as well as the necessary augmentation of the revenue and the prevention of mentation of the revenue and the prevention of frauds) a system of specific duties is best adapted frands) a system of specific duties is best adapted, I strongly recommend to Congress the adoption of that system, fixing the duties at rates high enough to afford substantial and sufficient encouragement to our own industry, and, at the same time, so adjusted as to insure stability.

The question of the continuance of the Sub-Treasury system is respectfully submitted to the wisdom of Congress. If continued, important modifications of it appear to be indispensable.

For further details and views of the above, and other matters connected with commerce, the

and other matters connected with commerce, the finances, and revenue, I refer to the report of the

Secretary of the Treasury.

No direct aid has been given by the General Government to the improvement of agriculture, except by the expenditure of small sums for the collection and publication of agricultural statistics, and for some chemical analyses, which have been, thus far, paid for out of the Patent fund. This aid is, in my opinion, wholly inadequate. To give to this leading branch of American in-This aid is. dustry the encouragement which it merits, I respectfully recommend the establishment of an Agricultural Bureau, to be connected with the Department of the Interior. To elevate the social condition of the agriculturist, to increase his prosperity, and to extend his means of usefulness to his country, by multiplying his sources of in-formation, should be the study of every statesnan, and a primary object with every legislator.

No civil Government having been provided by

Congress for California, the people of that Territory, impelled by the necessities of their political condition, recently met in Convention, for the purpose of forming a Constitution and State Government, which the latest advices give me reason to suppose has been accomplished; and it is believed they will shortly apply for the admission of California into the Union as a sovereign State. Should such be the case, and should their Constitution be conformable to the requisitions of the Constitution of the United States, I reconimend their application to the favorable conideration of Congress.

The people of New Mexico will also, it is be-

lieved, at no very distant period, present them-selves for admission into the Union. Preparatory to the admission of California and New Mexico. the people of each will have instituted for themselves a republican form of Government, "lay-ing its foundations in such principles, and organ-izing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happi-

By awaiting their action, all causes of uneasi-

revenue laws over California; and measures have been taken to organize the custom-houses at that and the other ports mentioned in that act, at the earliest period practically. The callest period practically. earliest period practicable. The collector proceeded overland, and advices have not yet been received of his arrival at San Francisco. Meanwhile, it is understood that the customs have con-tinued to be collected there by officers acting under the military authority, as they were during the administration of my predecessor. It will, I think, be expedient to confirm the collections thus made, and direct the avails (after such allowances as Congress may think fit to authorize) to be expended within the Territory, or to be paid into the Treasury, for the purpose of meeting appropriations for the improvement of its rivers

y which ought to be dedicated to the common of the world, or to obstate a light of the latest advices, they had not left Califorabundance of the fruits of the earth; and although the had been furnished by the late Adhed the destroying angel, for a time, visited extensive ministration until the 25th of June last; when, sideration. They did not fail to engage the attendreadful pestilence, yet the Almighty has at length deigned to stay his hand, and to restore the inestmable blessing of general health to a people who have acknowledged his power, deprecated his wrath, and implored his merciful protection.

While enjoying the benefits of amicable intercourse with foreign nations, we have not been in consequence of the want of accurate information of the exact state of things at that distance from us, he was instructed to exercise his own have general health to a people who discretion in presenting himself to the then existing Government, if in his judgment sufficiently stable; or, if not, to await further events. Since that period Rome has undergone another revaluation. They did not fail to engage the attention of my predecessor. The negotiator of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was instructed to constructed and placed in Oregon, to proceed without delay to make reconnoissances of the most important points on the coast of California, and especially to examine and determine on sites that period Rome has undergone another revaluation. two light-houses and the buoys authorized to be constructed and placed in Oregon, to proceed without delay to make reconnoissances of the most important points on the coast of California, and especially to examine and determine on sites and especially to examine and determine on sites collecting, in statistical tables, under proper heads, the speedy erection as to mines, agriculture, com-

Upper Missouri and Council Bluffs to Santa Fe and Salt Lake, and have caused to be appointed. sub-agents in the valleys of the Gila, the mento, and San Joaquin rivers. Still further legal provisions will be necessary for the effec-tive and successful extension of our system of

I recommend the establishment of a branch mint in California, as it will, in my opinion, afford important facilities to those engaged in mining, as well as to the Government in the dison of the mineral lands.

I also recommend that commissions be organ ized by Congress to examine and decide upon the validity of the present subsisting land titles in California and New Mexico; and that provision be made for the establishment of offices of Surveyor General in New Mexico, California, and Oregon, and for the surveying and bringing into market the public lands in those Territories. Those lands, remote in position and difficult of access, ought to be disposed of on terms liberal to access, ought to be disposed of on terms liberal to all, but especially favorable to the early emigrants. In order that the situation and character of the principal mineral deposites in California may be ascertained, I recommend that a geological and mineralogical exploration be connected with the linear surveys, and that the mineral lands be di-vided into small lots suitable for mining, and be

agricultural pursuits.

The great mineral wealth of California, and the advantages which its ports and harbors, and those of Oregon, afford to commerce, especially with the islands of the Pacific and Indian oceans, and the populous regions of Eastern Asia, make it certain that there will arise in a few years large and prosperous communities on our western coast. It therefore becomes important that a line the therefore becomes important that a line to fathers of the Republic. I view it as an exof communication, the best and most expeditious which the nature of the country will admit, should be opened within the Territories of the United States, from the navigable waters of the Atlantic, on the Gulf of Mexico, to the Pacific. destiny peculiarly interesting to us. It is our duty to encourage the authorities of those islands in their efforts to improve and elevate the moral and political condition of the inhabitants; and we should make respectable elevate the moral and which, if practicable, will best meet the and make reasonable allowances for the diffi-lities inseparable from this task. We desire that if in successful operation, would be a work of the islands may maintain their independence, and that other nations should concur with us in this sentiment. We could in no event be indifferent to their passing under the dominion of any other Power. The principal commercial States have in this a common interest, and it is to be hoped that no one of them will attempt to interpose fore, to avoid failure and disappointment; to enabstacles to the entire independence of the in this a common interest, and it is to be hoped that no one of them will attempt to interpose obstacles to the entire independence of the islands.

The receipts into the Treasury for the fiscal year ending on the thirtieth of June last were, in cash, forty-eight millions eight hundred and thirty-three thousand ninety-seven dollars and fifty cents (£45,830,097 50,) and in Treasury notes funded, ten millions eight hundred and thirty-three thousand dollars. (£10.833.000) making an aggregation. as a preliminary measure, a careful reconnois-sance of the several proposed routes by a scientific corps, and a report as to the practicability of making such a road, with an estimate of the cost of its construction and support.

For further views on these and other matters connected with the duties of the Home Department.

ment, I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Interior

of the Interior.

I recommend early appropriations for continuing the river and harbor improvements which have been elready begun, and also for the construction of those for which estimates have been made, as well as for examinations and estimates preparatory to the commencement of such others as the wants of the country, and especially the advance of our population over new districts, and the extension of commerce, may render necessary. An estimate of the amount which can be advantageously expended within the next fiscal year, under the direction of the Bureau of Topographical Engineers, accompanies the report of the Secretary of War, to which I respectfully invite the attention of Congress.

economy in the appropriation and expenditure of the public money.

I recommend a revison of the existing tariff, and

Great embarrassment has resulted from the ef-Great embarrassment has resulted from the ef-fect upon rank, in the army, heretofore given to fect upon rank, in the army, heretofore given to brevet and staff commissions. the views of the Secretary of War on this subject are deemed importent, and if carried into effect will, it is believed, promote the harmony of the service. The plan proposed for retiring disabled officers, and providing an asylum for such of the rank and file as from age, wounds, and other infirmities occasioned by service, have become unfit to perform their respective duties, is recommended as a means of increasing the efficiency of the army, and as an act of justice due from a grateful country to the faithful soldier. faithful soldier.

A Cat it it itte

The accompanying report of the Secretary of the Navy presents a full and satisfactory account of the condition and operations of the naval service during the past year. Our citizens engaged in the legitimate pursuits of commerce have enjoyed its benefits. Wherever our national vessels have gone, they have been received with re-

sels have gone, they have been received with respect, our officers have been treated with kindness and courtesy, and they have on all occasions pursued a course of strict neutrality, in accordance with the policy of our Government.

The naval force at present in commission is as large as is admissible, with the number of men authorized by Congress to be employed.

I invite your attention to the recommendation of the Secretary of the Navy on the subject of a reorganization of the Navy, in its various grades of officers, and the establishing of a retired list for such of the officers as are disqualified for for such of the officers as are disqualified for active and effective service. Should Congress adopt some such measure as is recommended, it will greatly increase the efficiency of the Navy, and reduce its expenditures.

and reduce its expenditures.

I also ask your attention to the views expressed by him in reference to the employment of war steamers, and in regard to the contracts for the steamers, and the lighted Steams mails and the transportation of the United States mails and the operation of the system upon the prosperity of

the Navy.

By an act of Congress passed August 14th, 1848, provision was made for extending post office and mail accommodations to California and Oregon. Exertions have been made to execute that law, but the limited provisions of the act, the inadequacy of the means it authorizes, the ill adaptation of our post office laws to the situation of that country, and the measure of compensation for services allowed by those laws, compared with the prices of labor and rents in California, render those exertions, in a great degree, in effect-ual. More particular and efficient provision by

law is required on this subject. The act of 1845, reducing postage, has now, by its operation during four years, produced results fully showing that the income from such reduced. postage is sufficient to sustain the whole expense of the service of the Post Office Department, not including the cost of transportation in mail steamers on the lines from New York to Chagres, and from Panama to Astoria, which have not been considered by Congress as properly belonging to the

sidered by Congress as properly belonging to the mail service.

It is submitted to the wisdom of Congress, whether a further reduction of postage should not now be made, more particularly on the letter correspondence. This should be relieved from the unjust burden of transporting and delivering the franked matter of Congress, for which public service provision should be made from the Treasury. I confidently believe that a change may safely be made, reducing all single-letter postage By awaiting their action, all causes of uneasiness may be avoided, and confidence and kind feeling preserved. With a view of maintaining the harmony and tranquillity so dear to all, we should abstain from the introduction of those exciting topics of a sectional character, which have hitherto produced painful apprehensions in the public mind; and I repeat the solemn warning of the first and most illustrious of my predecessors, against furnishing "any ground for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations."

A collector has been appointed at San Francisco, under the act of Congress extending the cisco, under the act of Congress extending the from the proposed reduction of postage. Whethere is a special product of the proposed reduction of postage.

Congress, a postal treaty with Great Britain has been received and ratified, and such regulations have been formed by the Post Office Departments of the two countries, in pursuance of that treaty, as to carry its provisions into full operation. The attempt to extend this same arrangement, through England to France, has not been equally success-

ful; but the purpose has not been abandoned.

For a particular statement of the condition of
the Post Office Department, and other matters connected with that branch of the public service, I refer you to the report of the Postmaster General. By the act of 3d March, 1849, a Board was nts for taking the such information as to mines, agric merce, manufactures, education, and other topics, increasing commerce.

I have transferred the Indian Agencies from as would exhibit a full view of the pursuits, in dustry, education, and resources of the country.

The duties enjoined upon the Census Board thus established having been performed, it now rests with Congress to enact a law for carrying into effect the provision of the Constitution which requires an actual enumeration of the people of the

United States within the ensuing year.

Among the duties assigned by the Constitution to the General Government is one of local and limited application, but not on that account the less obligatory; I allude to the trust committed to Congress, as the exclusive legislator and sole guardian of the interests of the District of Coguardian of the interests of the District of Columbia. I beg to commend these interests to your kind attention. As the National Metropolis, the city of Washington must be an object of general interest; and, founded as it was under the auspiinterest; and, founded as it was under the auspi-ces of him whose immortal name it bears, its claims to the fostering care of Congress present themselves with additional strength. Whatever can contribute to its prosperity must enlist the feelings of its constitutional guardians, and command their favorable consideration.

Our Government is one of limited powers, and its successful administration eminently depends on the confinement of each of its coordinate branches within its own appropriate sphere. The first section of the Constitution ordains "that all legislative powers therein granted shall be vested disposed of, by sale or lease, so as to give our culzens an opportunity of procuring a permanent right of property in the soil. This would seem to be as important to the success of mining as of the the decision of Congress on any subject of legis-lation, until that decision shall have been officially submitted to the President for approval. The check provided by the Constitution, in the clause treme measure, to be resorted to only in extra-ordinary cases—as where it may become necessary to defend the Executive against the encroachments of the Legislative power, or to prevent hasty and inconsiderate or unconstitutional egislation. By cautiously confining this remedy within the sphere prescribed to it in the cotemraneous expositions of the framers of the Conporaneous expositions of the framers of the Constitution, the will of the people, legitimately expressed on all subjects of legislation, through their constitutional organs, the Senators and Representatives of the United States, will have its full effect. As indispensable to the preservation of our system of self-government, the independence of the Representatives of the States and the People is guarantied by the Constitution; and study to defend the rights of the Executive and Judicial departments. Our Government can only be preserved in its purity by the suppression and entire elimination of every claim or tendency of one coordinate branch to encroachment upon and the other injunctions of the Constitution; with a sedulous inculcation of that respect and love for the Union of the States which our fathers cherished and enjoined upon their children; and with the aid of that overruling Providence which has so long and so kindly guarded our lib-erties and institutions, we may reasonably expect to transmit them with their innumerable bless-

ings to the remotest posterity.

But attachment to the Union of the States should be habitually fostered in every American heart. For more than half a century, during which kingdoms and empires have fallen, this Union has stood unshaken. The patriots who formed it have less than the state of the state o Union has stood unshaken. The patriots who formed it have long since descended to the grave; yet still it remains, the proudest monument to their memory, and the object of affection and admiration with every one worthy to bear the American name. In my judgment, its dissolution would be the greatest of calamities, and to ever that should be the control of the present that the present that the patriol of the present that the present the greatest of calamities, and to avert that should be the study of every American. Upon its preservation must depend our own happiness and that of countless generations to come. Whatever dangers may threaten it, I shall stand by it and maintain it in its integrity, to the full extent of the obligations imposed and the power conferred upon me by the Constitution. Z. TAYLOR.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

LITERARY NOTICES.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW for October, 1849. We do not undertake to say what the other articles may be, but those on the Signs of Death and the Great Tubular Bridge, are among the most interesting of the general reading one finds in a review. They are followed by one on the Peace Congress, which is a curiosity of spitefulness. The same may be said of that on Italy. But Sir F. Head's account of the great hollow iron beams, pinned with nine hundred tons of rivets, and resting on a central tower ten feet higher than the Bunker Hill Monument, needs no recommendation to one who knows his powers of description, and the odd liveliness of his style.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW for October, 1849. The articles on Human Progress, and on Malthus, are excellent specimens of that sort of optimism, or faith in the future, which is not afraid of facts, and defends itself by a thorough scrutiny of them. This is what we especially admire in the Westminster. Another article gives a pleasant biographical notice of Jasmin, a genuine descendant of the Troubadours, a popular poet in the dialect of the south of France-the old Langue d'oc-spoken still by ten millions of people, according to this writer. For the remainder, see advertisement.

PROPLE'S AND HOWITT'S JOURNAL. November, 1849. The pieces are very numerous, and the types are very small, so we can only speak of the illustrations, which are pretty good for wood cuts, but do not compare with the engravings of American magazines. The array of titles promises well for the work this journal is doing among the people of England.

MASSACHUSETTS QUARTERLY REVIEW. December, 1849. The editor still carries the weight of this Review on his own strong shoulders. What his history of Mr. Polk's Administration is, we need not try to say to those who know his power of blending terrible facts with more terrible satire; and to those who do not, we recommend (in one of their most good-humored moods) to read his account of South Carolina chivalry. There is a very droll article respecting Thoreau's "Week on the Concord and Merrimack," including remarks on travellers and naturalists in general. We offer no comment on the remainder, the titles of which, with the writers' names, (here given,) will recommend them to those interested in the topics of which they treat.

THE MOTHER-IN-LAW. A STORY OF THE ISLAND ESTATE.

BY MRS. EMMA D. E. SOUTHWORTH XIII.

THE DOVECOTE AND THE DOVE. Go lift the willing latch—the scene explore— Sweet peace and love and jos thou there shalt find, For there religion dwells, whose sacred lore Leaves the proud wisdom of the world behind, And pours a heavenly ray on every human mind. Dr. Huntington.

There is a light around her brow, A holiness in those dark eyes, Which show, though wandering earthward now, Her spirit's home is in the skies.

Through the front windows of the Island Palace you have already caught a distant glimpse of the steep gable end of the Dovecote peeping up

and the most secluded little home in the whole valley. No highway comes near it. One narrow foot-path leads to it. This path leads down the southern descent of the richly wooded hill of Mont Crystal, and meandering lower and deeper into a glen that opened a narrow vista to the river, and passing through the thicket and across the brook at the bottom, leads gently upward to the little wicket gate of the small garden in front of the tiny cot wedged up against and sheltered on three sides by closely pressing and thickly wooded hills. Thus this sweet, secluded little home is visible only from one point-toward the Isle of Rays-This one path, wending past the tiny garden gate, leads through a short, rich brushwood, down to the sandy beach of the river, where to a post is tied a little skiff with one oar, in which the old schoolmaster rows himself across the river every morning and evening in going to and returning from the scene of his daily school labors. For, be it remembered, that the school-house is situated on the opposite bank of the river, and far up to-The Dovecote besides being extremely small.

is constructed in the simplest form and out of the rudest and readiest materials—the walls, of the river, and the little boat crossing the line of the river, and the little boat crossing the line of twenty feet square, being built of red sandstone found on the spot, and the roof being covered with pine boards now nearly black with long exposure to the weather. One little door, with one little window to the left, are shaded by the projecting | said. eaves of the roof which, supported by straight pillars made of the slender trunks of the pine trees, with the bark on, forms the rude porch. There is room for the little garden only in front, the sides and back of the house being crowded by

So, dear young school-girl reader, the Dovecote is no stereotyped, neat white cottage with green blinds, the custom-sanctioned abode of youth, love, and romance; no-its colors are those of the Virgin Mary's costume in certain old Flemish pictures, namely: dun red beneath, dusky blue al fancy thing of white and green could be. The deep, rich hue of the red walls, the fine, dark blue roof, surrounded by the brilliantly variegated colors of the gorgeous autumn foliage, the glowing scarlet of the oak, the dark green of the glowing scarlet of the oak, the dark green of the pines and cedars, the bright yellow hickory, the rich purple dogwood, crowning the close hills, and the intense blue of the mountains in the background, formed a fine, rich, deep-toned picture, that, when the sun mounted to the meridian, kindled into burning refulgence.

So much for the outside of the picture-no

This small front door admits you into the room-the only room on the ground floor. Look around-this apartment is parlor, kitchen, and dining-room, for the little family, yet it is the picture of neatness. The wails are colored stone gray; on the floor is a home-made carpet of red and green paper blind to match. Just opposite to the door you enter is the fireplace, where a clear, bright fire is burning; on each end of the mantelpiece is a bright brass candlestick, and a small clock occupies the centre. On the right band of the fireplace is a corner cupboard, with glass doors, through which you can see the nice, clean crockery ware. On the left hand is a deal table scoured white as a curd; the chairs are of common white deal, to match the table. And in one corner of the room, to the left of the window, is a small stand with a drawer—that is Zoe's work-stand, where she keeps all her needle-work; but it is never removed from that corner, because on top of that stand is the cottage library, con the family Bible, Shakspeare, Milton, and the Life of John Howard; and above the work-stand, next to the window, hangs a portrait of John Howard-that was the image the old schoolmaster worshipped! Little did he think he was an

one occupied by the old man and the other by

green plaid carpet on the floor. It is just laid It is the work of Zoe's own hands-the product of Zoe's own industry and economy. Nothing is lost in that small household. All the

been washed, cut up into narrow strips, twisted honestly; but now how would it be? Suppose, nto cord, dyed—one half green and one-half red and is now woven into this fresh, new, bright carpet. Zoe has an especial little housewife's cleasure in having drawn out from the crysalis of n old clothes barrel the butterfly of a new plaid carpet. It is an event in her life that this new carpet is now finished and laid down, and that she

has been able, from her scanty savings, to purchase the window blind to match it. The old man has not returned from school yet, and she is awaiting his arrival with great interest, to note his expression of surprise and pleasure when he finds the hitherto bare, cold boards covered with that bright, warm carpet, that gives such an air of omfort and coziness to the room.

It was the last school day before Christmasthat is, it was Friday, and Christmas was to come n Tuesday-therefore, Zoe had laid down her new carpet, had made up a glowing fire, had reanhed the brass fire-dogs to a silvery brightness, and had painted the brick hearth with red ochre, found in the neighboring brook. She had set the offee-boiler over the blaze, made an Indian meal johnnycake on a long pine board, propped it up with a smoothing iron before the fire to bake, and laid two red herrings on the coals to broil. They could not afford a table-cloth, for those were not the days of cheap goods, but Zoe's white deal table did not need one-it looked very nice, set out with its blue delf ware. Zoe was happy, busy, and watchful. She sat down to quilt-piecing, while watching her johnnycake bake.

It is time to describe this bonny small housewife. She was a gentle, tender little creature, with a fair, delicate skin, with soft, dark eyes, and fine, silky black hair, inclined to curl, but plainly twisted up. She wore upon this festive evening dove-colored merino dress, with a black silk apron and little white collar-these were presents from her friend "Brighty," who asseverated that a pretty child ought sometimes, at least, to

be prettily dressed. If I were obliged to describe the cottage and the young cottager by one epithet, I should call them clean, "So neat and clean," was the form of praise everybody bestowed upon the little house and the little housekeeper, by all the kind-hearted neighbors. "You might take a fresh pocket-handkerchief, and wipe up the floor from one end to the other, without soiling the cam bric," would be the asseveration of all the admir-ing matrons of the neighborhood, when holding ip the little housewife as an example to their aughters or to their domestics. Yes; the little apartment was glittering with cleanliness. And now, as the day is declining, the sunbeams smile into the room, and the smile is flashed back, here and there, and everywhere, by the bright brass candlesticks on the mantel-piece, by the fire-irons, by the mirror, by the clear glass tumblers, by the ean crockery ware in the corner cupboard, and by the glittering tea-service on the table. Lastly, the sun smiles archly, slantingly, on the glistening little black head and nice gray dress of Zoe, and, withdrawing its rays, sinks below the horizon. Zoe has watched and waited anxiously, her supper is ready, and it is now quite time her father was in. She has laid aside her work, and

has gone to the window to look out. The sky has changed, the wind has shifted to the east, and blown up dense white snow clouds-a snow storm is rapidly coming on-Zoe remains at the window, anxiously looking down the footpath leading to the river, and hoping that before the snow begins to fall, her father may have reached home. "I wish he would come," murmured Zoe to herself. "Oh! how I do wish he would come;" and she strained her eyes down the darkening path. Then she ran up stairs, and bringing down his warm, soft, wool-lined slippers, she laid them before the fire, and taking out his wadded wrap-per from a closet under the stairs, she turned the sleeves, and hung it over the back of the chair to warm. Then she resumed her watch. Never did lady watch for her lover with more anxiety than did little Zoe for her old father. Now let us take a nearer view. The Dovecote is rather a cot than a cottage. It is the tiniest and the most secluded little home in the whole and draw us the nearer blind safety. The snow was beginning to fall fine—soon it thickened, so that she could not see an inch from the window. It was growing quite dark. She lighted a candle, and the most secluded little home in the whole n general, and a loving exhortation to each pupil particular, as his or her wents may requir dear father! It is getting too dark now; he will lose his way, I must go and meet him." And, rising, she ran up stairs, got her cloak and hood, lighted a lantern, and set out, followed by the m-colored setter, who had risen and stretched himself, as soon as he saw her come down with her hood on. She walked on through the whirling snow, the dog keeping closely at her side. She reached the beach where the boat was usually tied. It was too dark and snowy to see anything beyond the short glare of the lantern; but she knew, of course, that the little skiff was not there that the old man had that morning, as usual, passed across the river in it, and that it was now moored on the other side, awaiting him, if, in-deed, he were not now returning in it. She walked down to the edge of the river, and threw the glare of the lantern across it. She could see nothing; the snow was freezing as it fell, and her

> light thrown by the lantern, and soon it reached beach, and soon a crackling footstep sounded on the frozen snow, and then the old man's hand was laid in blessing on her head. "God love thee, my dove-eyed darling!" h "Oh! father-your hands are so cold! Lean on my arm, and let us make haste home. Supper is ready."

cloak was getting stiff with ice. Her feet were like lifeless clods, and her hands so hard and

Lean on thy arm, my poor little girl! Walk low thee." She obeyed him. The thick falling snow pre vented further conversation, and they entered the little cottage before another word was exchanged between them. Then Zoe dropped her own cloak, and helped her father off with his great coat, his boots, and so forth; and then sh brought him his wrapper, and lastly the old man sat down in his study chair, ran his feet into the warm slippers, and stuck them out to the fire shove, but more picturesque, more beautiful, and all without noticing Zoe's new carpet. Zoe was romantic it is, I assure you, than your sentimentshaking and carrying off the cloaks, &c., and hanging them up in the closet under the stairs And then she came back, and placed supper or the table, and the old man turned around to take

prise, "Why, Zoe!"
"Yes, father! ain't it pretty?" said she, with

"But-but, where did you get it, child ?" "I made it, father !" she replied, with hone

"You, Zoe!" exclaimed the old man holding his coffee-cup half way between the table and "Yes, father; me, Zoe"-playfully imitating

his tone.

"But when? Where? How? What out of?"

"When? Where? How? What out of?" One, two, three, four questions. First, when?-One, two, three, four questions. First, when?—
Through all my leisure time for the last month.
Where?—Up in my chamber. How?—With
those powerful little magicians—needle, thread,
and scissors. What out of?—All the irreclaimable old clothes that have collected in the house
for many years past," replied Zoe, with dancing
eyes, so happy in being able to prove that the fine carpet was a creation of her own.
"Well done, my little housewife."

"Oh, father, I do so love to make things,"

"Yes. indeed, father; but now, father, as yo have catechised me, may I not catechise you?"
"Presently, Zoe; but tell me first—for my ex ion is not yet over, there are other ques tions to be asked, other mysteries to be cle up—where did you get that pretty dress? Did you make that, too? I never saw it before." No, father; I was determined to christen m

of our holydays—to-day."

"But you have not told me where you got it."

"Oh! from Brighty. Miss Britannia O'Rile
gave it to me." Miss Britannia O' Riley gave it to you, my dear!

and why did Miss O'Riley give it to you?" asked "Because she loves to see me nice. Was it not

right, father?"
"My da-ling, you used so

truth, however unpalatable it might be to Britan-nia, did you not?"
"Yes, father, sometimes."
"When she was sarcastic, satirical, irreverent, you were accustomed to keep a grave, serious face—and when she would question you cn your sobriety, you would reply with truth that you disapproved of her want of veneration—were you not?"

old man's east-off garments, and all Zoe's wornout clothes, have been saved for years past—have

"Yes, sir."
"Yes, sir."
"Yes, you performed that office of friendship

none, in such a case what would you do?
you still gravely rebuke her levity?"
Zoe was silent and thoughtful. At last"Answer me, child!" the old man said.

"Father, no; I should think of all her kinds "Of her alms to you."

Zoe hung her head. The old man continued—
"And feel yourself a debtor and a slave in her-

"Yes, child, you compromise your independence and endanger your integrity, by accepting any favors from those upon whom you can have no possible claim, and whom you cannot hope to repay."

"Oh, father, what can I do? I cannot give it

back to Brighty, now that it is made up and has been worn; that would insult her. What can I "Nothing that I know of, child; but you must not lay yourself under any unnecessary obliga-tions in future. Zoe, my darling, you have noth-ing but your independence and integrity—keep them. And in regard to Miss O'Riley, do not, in the least, change your manner towards her. Do not include or flatter one foible of hers, because

she has made you a present."
"Oh, father! Brighty would not ask me to do it. Brighty is noble, generous, frank."
"But proud, satirical, and high-tempered. She
is of a large and highly wrought temperament; to take part with her good nature against her evil Yes, she needs you, little Zoe; do not fail her."
"Father, needs me—Brighty, with so much

genius, beauty, spirit?" "Yes, Brighty, with so much genius, beauty, and spirit, knows that she needs the little, humble Zoe to keep her in mind of duty. Again, I say, do not fail her.

"Why, father, sometimes, when she has drawn from me, I have repeated your lectures, secondhand; I never set up, I never presumed to set myself up, for Brighty's mentor."

"And that is the reason, my dear, why she ac-cepts you, because you do not presume. Brighty cannot defy a meek and lowly mentor. Do you

think that if, instead of being born in the mange Jesus had been born in the purple—if, instead of taking the form of a servant, he had assumed the taking the form of a servant, he had assumed the insignia of royalty, that his lessons of reverence, of humility, of self-denial, would have been even so well received as they were? No, the pride of human nature would have rejected him."

"And yet, father, human nature is given to worship all the 'pride, pomp, and circumstance' of place, of rank, of royalty."
"Yes, my dear, but not to hear from them, or to profit by lessons of humility and self-denial. hose who would teach humility with effect, must

first have made themselves of 'no account;' he who would teach self-abnegation, must first have offered himself a sacrifice for many;' in a word, ny dear, precept can only be effectually inculcated when the sincerity of the preceptor is demonstrated by his example. My love, whole libraries of ser-mons, of philosophy, or of ethics, would not do me a tithe of the good effected by the reading of one chapter in the life of Christ. But to return to Brighty; you are the only one about here who can be of real service to her, and you must not indulge her faults. She herself will not respect you any

"Dear father, I am not a man, and therefore I am not over-anxious for the cold 'respect' of those I love; but you say true about Brighty; for the other day, after she had given me this dress, she indulged her temper in bitter and pungent sar-casms levelled at Mrs. Armstrong, appealing to me frequently, and I—"
"Yes—well, what did you do?"

Zoe was silent. "Simpered, instead of looking grave, I amafraid, my dear."

Something like that, I am afraid, father." And she? "After her temper fit was over, and she had repented, she said to me, 'Zoe, why did you let me

go on so? Why did you not look at me or touch

ne?'-that is what she said, and she looked so "Ah, you had not come up to her help, you had not taken sides with her good nature against her bad. What withheld you?" "I did not like to seem to blame her, just after

she had "-"Laid you under an obligation !- was that it?" Yes, sir. "I knew it, only I wanted to hear you say it.

That was not gratitude, it was a mean feeling.

"Oh, father, I am not mean" Every virtue and every emotion, my love, has its base counterfeit, which deceives not only its object by hypocrisy, but oftentimes its subject by self-de-

Father, I did not mean to betray my trust and this is not a paltry dress; it is a nice, pretty dress; it is such a sweet, dove colored dress; I love Brighty said that it just suited me, and that there was not another girl in the valley who ough to have it. But, father, I know what I will do Mrs. Armstrong is going to give a great dinner and ball, and there are a great many handsome dresses to be made up, and Miss O'Riley engaged me to make three-one for Mrs. Armstrong, one when they are completed I will receive payment only for the first two, and when Brighty offers to pay me for hers, I will steadfastly refuse to take

"Do so, my child, that will be right; but why did you not think of it before? "Because, dear father, I did want so much buy two blankets—one for you and one for me— and it would take the price of three dresses to buy

numb, that she could scarcely hold the lantern. So she hung it on the branch of a tree, as a bea-"Then, darling, you will have to sacrifice that leasure, to allow for that folly," said the old man, After a silence of some minutes. Zoe said-

" Now, father, I am going to put you on the de You, at your time of life, keeping me so uneasymaking my heart nche — to say nothing of the johnnycake being burnt, the fish scorched, and the coffee boiled muddy."

"My dear, perhaps you had better not have asked me—perhaps it would be better for your cheerfulness not to know—but I never keep secrets from my girl; she shall be brave, and lea dure: then, Zoe, two-thirds of my twelve pupils school at the end of this term, being this ever left school at the end of this term, being this even-ing. If I commence school again at the first of January, it will be with only four young pupils— two dollars per quarter pupils. Do you think, daughter, we can live on eight dollars a quarter— "Oh, father!" said Zoe, looking tearfully in

his face.
"Poor little thing, it is sad for you, my darwas thinking of myself? Oh, no! I am young,

as thinking of inysen; on, not a day, and me healthy and strong, and can endure. I am oung, and life may change, but you—you!"
"I am old, and have not much longer to suffer or to enjoy, darling; therefore it is of little mo-

"But oh, father, after your faithful life—your life of toil, of self-denial—to find yourself at seventy without a dollar beforehand! The laborer is worthy of his hire, indeed, but the laborer has not received it," complained Zoe, in a tone of

The day of settlement has not come yet, my Oh, but father, to think that you should be Zoe, I have lived seventy years in this world.

and never suffered long either for food or for rai-ment; God, who has brought me to this time of my life, will not desert me now. 'Take no thought for the morrow,' 'sufficient for the day is the evil thereof,' said the divine Master, and that mandate does not strike so much in the light of a command as in that of loving advice—a sympathizing reas-surance from warm and loving lips. Come, we will accept it in all faith. Come, Zoe, clear away the things from the table. Give me the Bible, and take your needlework. We have a good fire-provision enough in the house to last until after New Year. Come, darling, we will be faithful we will be cheerful. 'The cattle upon a thousand hills' are the Lord's, and 'He knoweth that we have need of all these things."

"But, father," said Zoe, as she drew the table candle, the snuffers, the big Bible, and her little work basket upon it, "father, I do not see a ray of

"Nor I, my dear." "Nor I, my dear."
"What are we to do?"
"Walk by faith, not by sight. People can walk
by sight, and have no need of faith when they can
see light. It is in dark days alone that we can exercise faith. There, now, take up your sewing,
darling."

And Zoe took out her patch-work, and the old man began to read from the Bible the parable of the three sparrows sold for a farthing, neither of the three sparrows sold for a farthing, neither of which should fall to the ground with the Father, and the same lesson in the Sermon on the Mount, and that Plaam of David commencing, "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want?" Thus the old man tried to fortify his soul against the evil days to come. He was strengthened. He closed the Bible, and his face was very serene—was holy—was even irradiated. He fell into a profound reverie. Zoe had also fallen into a reverie, a most painful reverie. Zoe had not lived long enough, suffered deeply enough, observed carefully enough, to have taken note of God's sure providences, and so she had not the cheerful faith of her adouted

not, upon any account, receive assistance; no, not a dollar, not a peck of meal."

So Zoe cogitated. At last, seeing her father

so silent, she thought him sad, and inquired—
"Don't you find it very lonesome, father, with nobody but me here?" "Lonesome, darling?"
"Yes, sir, I should think you would be."

"Why do you think so, Zoe? Is it because you feel it lonesome here, with no one but me? I should not wonder at you, nor blame you, darling, if it "Me lonesome dear father: no never! When you fall into a brown study, and don't want to talk, haven't I got my quilt to piece? You don't know how interesting it is, matching and contrasting these colors. See, for instance, what a pretty

exagon this is; the centre piece crims white," said she, laying the pieces on the table. "I sometimes pity gentlemen, because they are not privileged to take the interesting, amusing, and sedative employment of needlework."

Soon after this, the old man offered up the even

ing prayer, and blessing his child, they separated for the night. TO BE CONTINUED.

For the National Era.

THE CHILD'S PLAYHOUSE. BY ANN PRESTON. Who has not been a child, and made A playhouse 'neath the trees? And who so old but groweth young

When passing one of these? I saw one in a cool, green nook, Anear a cottage wall. Built cunningly, with many rooms And stored with playthings small Prompt little hands had laid stone walls,

And swept the mossy floors, And sticks, across the openings laid, Were gravely called "the doors." On showy shelves, which oft would fall,

Were treasures rare, I ween— The broken "chinas" glistened there, In blue, and red, and green.

The golden light of childhood's morn, While gazing, round me stole, And fragrance, from its far, sweet shores, Passed, breeze-like, o'er my soul. Once more I trod the green, mossed bank, Where, 'neath a school-house tree,

From tiny acorn cups we drank, And called it "taking tea." We held our "meeting" o'er again, And I was preacher there, And with mock gravity we wore

Ogr serious, Quaker air. But thou who put on matron airs, And played the mother then, The fairest one of all our school Now walketh not with men.

The stateliest of that band. Mid summer toils has gone away Unto " the silent land. Those mosses still their little cheeks

Thon, too, whose dark eyes proudly beamed,

'Gainst sister mosses lay, While, of the three who leaned on them, But I, the weakest, stay. Oh! earth would be one funeral pyre, And life a dream of pain.

RERLIN LETTER.

If Beauty did not live for aye,

And God and Love remain

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PRUSSIAN REV LUTION. SECOND PART.

CHAPTER I. Position of the Monarchy in Prussia after the 18t

and 19th of March. The withdrawal of the troops from Berlin elevated a popular tumult to the height of a victo- the tion. The people were in full pos session of all the rights of victors, but did not for his cheepe from a Revolution which he had brought on himself. "The people of Berlin," said he on the 31st of March, to a deputation of and magnanimously towards me than would have

been the case in any other city of the world." This was true. The cause, the beginning, and the end of the conflict showed that royalty had its roots deep in the manners, habits of thought, and prejudices of the people. The retreat of the soldiers and the dismissal of the hated Ministry changed public opinion as to the part the King had taken in odious measures. It seemed that the Revolution had freed not only the people but the King himself. The masses that crowded the streets on the 19th and 20th respected above all the name of the King.

In the entire absence of the military and police. the greatest security for person and property existed. The shops, even those of jewellers and goldsmiths, were opened. No thefts were committed. The former Ministers were not menaced. but were permitted to leave the city, as Guizo and his colleagues were to leave Paris, or to remain quietly at home. The people showed itself in its true character-noble, generous, and ripe for the epicyment of freedom.

The behaviour of the bureaucracy and civil officers was altogether different. While the King had reigned peaceably, they had been his zealous coadjutors in all measures of severity against the people, had been the stanch and noisy advocates of absolutism, and the systematic slanderers of the bulk of their fellow-citizens. As soon, however, as their royal master appeared to have met a reverse, they were ready to abandon him to seek more profitable service. This was also the case with many of the King's former courtiers. It is remarkable that these new converts to democracy were for the moment more violent than those who had taken part in the struggle. Throughout the whole of Prussia, the machinery of Government came to a dead stand-still. The administration was paralyzed in all its members.

The partial success of the conspiracy of Malle against Napoleon destroyed that Emperor's confidence in his subordinates. What wonder, then, that the isolation in which Frederick William IV was left by the desection of all in whom he had trusted, affected powerfully his weaker mind and unwitted his old political convictions? We are constrained to believe in the sincerity of the King in his promises at that time, and his subsequent relapse into his former views; the contrary upposition would make him not only the most false of monarchs, but the most unscrupulous o

The promise given on the 19th of March, that the people should be armed and the preservation of order in the capital confided to them, occasion-

ed unbounded joy. The King said in his proclamation: "I am convinced that the tranquillity of the city can be guarded by none better than the citizens themselves." This joy was increased by the "Appeal to my people and the German nation," published on the 21st of March, and in which the King declared that he adopted "the old national colors of Germany," placed himself and his people under the honorable banner of a German Empire," and promised that "Prussia should be merged in Germany." In the same paper he said that he placed himself at the head of the German movein the day of danger."

Such was the position of the monarchy in the

capital after the Revolution. It was still more favorable in the Provinces. From the highest stratum of society, to the poorest day-laborer, nobody thought for a moment of overthrowing the dynasty. All were in favor of a constitutional nonarchy. Those who entertained republican pinions were obliged to conceal them carefully. Certain'y, it would have been possible, in the chaos of the first events, for an audacious knot of pirators to dethrone the King; but they could not have been successful in such an attempt for more than four-and-twenty hours. Men of all parties admit this. A writer of the royal party a man of the

"If this had happened in summer, it would not have caused a storm in the Provinces. The army have been so dreadful; but in this hard, hard win-ter, oh, it is terrible! what will be do? He would ants. would have marched immediately against ants, would have marched immediately against Berlin. Every town and circle would have declared for the King."

It was not the dynasty or the monarchy that stood in need of protection and defence after the Revolution, but the new-born freedom. We shall see that the very men, who were charged with the duty of watching over and guarding the fruits of the March Revolution, supposed their only duty to be, as one of them, Mr. Camphausen, expressed it, "to place themselves as a shield before the monarchy"— which nobody threatened. Mr. Camphausen sprang at one bound from his counter to the chair of the Presidency of the Cabinet.

Professing to be the friend of the people, he ruined its cause. The people had won the battle of the Revolu-

tion, but knew not how to profit by the success. A victory not profited by is often worse than a defeat. The great error of the Revolution was, that it left its natural enemies in power. This error is often made by a people in the infancy of its political life, and its recurrence is prevented only by the sad warnings of experience. The next Prussian Revolution will, doubtless, show that the people have profited by the lessons of the

CHAPTER II.

The Procession. The Prince of Prussia had fled from Berlin on the 19th. His palace was supposed by the Government to be in danger, on account of the hatred borne to him by the people, and was protected, not by arms, but by the inscription above the door of the words, "national property." On the 20th and 21st, false reports that the Prince was leading the army against the city threw the people into commotion. Large barricades were erected at the different gates, and the citizens stood ready to defend them. The papers of the 22d contained the official declaration that no attack should be

made on Berlin The promise of the King to order out of the city all the military was not fully carried into execution until after the burial of the dead, on the 21st. There was not a word of truth in the sol emn declaration of the Ministers on the morning of the 20th, that "the last soldier had left the palace," and that "the King had confided himself | Truth. entirely to the protection of the armed citizens.' The second battalion of the second regiment of guards lay concealed in the upper rooms of the palace until the night of the 21st. The King even wished to bring back some of the troops which had already evacuated the place. He gave the following order to one Urban, a veterinary doctor who had become an intimate at the palace: "At the wish of the veterinary surgeon, Urban consent that he may bring back

croops in Pottsdam and its vicinity, especially the mperor Alexander Grenadier Regiment. "Written by myself, March 21st, 1848. "FREDERICK WILLIAM." This Urban affords an instance of the facility with which revolutionary combatants may be won from the cause of the people, when it is no longer true to itself. He had fought on the barricades,

abuse them. Frederick William IV testified emphatically to this in the first gush of his gratitude ters of Justice. But the refusal of Mr. Camp-

hausen to enter such a Ministry, effectually de stroyed it in the public estimation. The popular instinct was right. It was the Reaction that in the new Ministry seized on the the inhabitants, "has conducted itself more nobly and magnanimously towards me than would have sisted in gaining time. This was to be done by throwing dust in the eyes of the people—by dividing its attention from what was present and urgent, to what was distant and far from pressing by reducing it from the paths of reality into th flowery fields of dreams and possibilities. The Reaction seized on the great idea of Germanic unity as an available one. It was dear to the peothe German flag had floated over the barricades. The Reaction seized this flag, and thrust it into the hand of the weak and vain King, and persuaded him that he must use it if he wished to regain in Germany what he had lost in Prus-

sia. The author of the ultra-conservative history of the days of March, entitled Signature Temporis, thus exposes the designs of his party:
In this situation, the idea of general German interests was the only ground of an effective activity by which the intentions of the Revolutionists could be destroyed, and in every particular brought to naught, by diffusion over too vast a space. The people were thus conducted from the firm, well-known earth into a region of clouds, where they could agitate as long as they pleased, without doing any harm, and until the general the same author, "it was necessary at the same time to do something by which the evil effects of these acts of the 18th and 19th of March might be counteracted." For this reason it was determined that the King should head a procession

which should march, on the day after the Revolution, through the streets of the capital. The possible danger to the King's person in the still excited state of the public mind, had no weight with the men who from behind the scenes directed this perfidious theatrical show. They thought only of the effect it would produce on Germany, to see a King, who had just ingloriously yielded to his subjects, attempt to step at once to the head of his whole nation. The cry of indignation in all the rest of Germany would, they supposed, produce a reaction in Prussia favorable to the monarchy. The much-laughed-at procession was then an important movement in the policy of the Reaction, which had calculated with rea

the effects. In the forenoon of the 20th, a crowd of me gathered on the palace square, and called for the King to make his appearance on the balcony He did so, and informed them that he was about to come among them on horseback. He requested also that some one should bring him a tri-colored flag, (the German national colors,) which he might bear as his banner. A lawyer, named Stieber, ran and climbed up on a ladder to one of the black, red, and gold flags, hundreds of ing houses, tore it down, and brought it to the King, who had by this time ridden out on the square, surrounded by his Ministers and some of the princes of his house. The King took the flag, wound it about his arm as a badge, and requested the people to accompany him. Two citizens rode on each side of him, and a third in front, to clear the way. As the procession started, an immense black red-and-gold banner was hoisted on the dome of the palace. Crowds of people followed the King through the principal streets, thronging around him to kiss his hands, and applauding with joyous shouts all his speeches and applauding with joyous shouts all his speeches. The King spoke at five different places. Each time he did not forget to place among his general expressions of warm devotion to the national interests some remark like this: "I will place myself at the head of the new movement, but I will not usurp or rob any prince of his crown." This was not noticed at the time heirs expressed.

was not noticed at the time, being supposed to be nothing more than a prudent civility to the other Powers of Germany; but the result has shown that it was intended to serve, as it has done, to pave the way by which the King could after-wards sacrifice the cause he was professing to wards sacrifice the cause he was professing to love. His speeches were not wanting in warm.h. In one of them, he called on all Germans to rally around him, and added—"I swear it, I wish nothing but a constitutional and united Germany." At the University he complimented the students, assuring them that he "felt proud that Germany had such sons." At the Köeln Council House, which a few hours before had been the scene of a bloody battle, he said that he "knew well he was only strong through the hearts and loyalty of his people. And, is it not so? Will you not give me these hearts and this loyalty? I swear it to you, I wish nothing but your good and that of Germany."

ermany."
General applause greeted these and similar words. There was only one warning voice. Once when the King had closed one of these speeches so full of flatteries, protestations, and promises, a voice in the crowd called out—"Don't believe. him, brothers! He lies, as he has always done!

by being arrested and thrown into the neighbor-

by being arrested and thrown into the neighboring watch-house, after receiving a severe bruising.
There was but one cry of indignation in all Germany against this attempt of a King, who, hated
in some places, despised in others, and unpopular
in all, sought to take the lead of a free movement
whose greatest enemy he had been up to that
time. This indignation was excessive in southern
Germany. But the people of Berlin and Prussia
had applauded this step of the King, and the excertations of the rest of the country touched not ecrations of the rest of the country touched not only the King, but his subjects. The Prussians felt their honor aggrieved, and resented it. This feeling was encouraged by the nobility, the military, and the civil functionaries. The Reaction had attained its end. The Revolution was diverted from its object.

Though the procession was devised with the views already described, it had an immediate result, which was also important. It served to prevent an outbreak on the following day, at the much-dreaded ceremony of the burial of those killed in the combat. The historian whom we have already quoted says on this point—"Without this intermediate act of the drama, the funeral of the fallen rebels would have assumed a much more fanatical and wilder character, and probably have been the starting point of the most nelancholy events."

TO BE CONTINUED.

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with which revolutionary combatants may be won from the cause of the people, when it is no longer true to itself. He had fought on the barricades, and had been fortunate enough to capture General Möllendorf, but was among the first to ally himself with the Court. The representations and remonstrances of the King's friends, who saw the danger of reintroducing the truops at that time, alone prevented the disgrace to the soldiers of being led back by a horse-doctor.

The new Ministry under the Presidency of Count Arnim-Boztzenburg did not please the people. The President himself had never been a decided liberal, and Count Stollberg, Minister of the Royal Horse, General Von Rohr, Minister of War, and Messrs. Savigny and Uhden, the two Ministers of Justice, had belonged to the old Cabinet. The only two Ministers who, as members of the former opposition party in the General Diet, could pretend to represent, even imperfectly, the new epoch, were Count Schwerin, the Minister of Public Instruction and Worship, and Mr. Von Auerswald, Minister of the Interior. The general repugnance to this Cabinet.

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